

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603) (19-2) DATE: 3/3/58

FROM: SA MAX L. WILSON (12-10)

SUBJECT: CP USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

ReNYlet to Bureau, 1/23/58.

Source [redacted] (conceal identity)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

Date of Event 1/16/58

Date Received 2/6/58

Received By SA MAX L. WILSON

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Location of Info [redacted]

- 1 - [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-54651 (CP USA - National Groups) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-128816 (CP USA - NY District - National Groups) (19-2)
1 - NY 100-95583 (CP USA - Line) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-80633 (CP USA - Education) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-128822 (CP USA - NY District - Education) (19-2)
1 - NY 105-971 (KKK)
1 - NY 100-89691 (CP USA - Domestic Admin. Issues) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-128823 (CP USA - NY District - Domestic Admin. Issues) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-26603-C 40 (CP USA - NY District - Bronx County) (12-10)
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP USA - Membership) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-128817 (CP USA - NY District - Membership) (19-2)
1 - NY 100-26603 - C 43 (CP USA - NY District - Brooklyn County) (19-2)
COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE
1 - NY 100-26603 (CP USA - NY District) (19-2)

MLW:mtt
(29)

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 3 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted]

100-95583 - 458

NY 100-26603

Care should be used in paraphrasing the following information contained in informant's report if it is disseminated outside this Bureau.

Copies of this memo have been routed to all NYO files to which referenced letter was disseminated and to other logical files. Referenced letter contained oral information from informant concerning activities appearing in informant's written report which is attached.

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York 100-13447 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-73561 (ABE UNGER)
1 - NY 100-89179 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-133566 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 105-18272 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-0-98055 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-78424 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-99195 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-71043 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-85233 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100- [redacted] (LNU), W, F, attended 1st class taught
by ABE UNGER, in Bronx, on 1/16/58) (12-10)
1 - NY 100- [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100- [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-122446 [redacted] (12-10)

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COPY

11 P.M,

1/17/58

On 1/16/58 at 8³⁰ P.M. in the apartment of [redacted] the first class on Marxism and Civil Rights was given by Mr. Abe Unger. Profession - is an attorney. Resides in Brooklyn address unknown.

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Attending this class were the following persons

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] - LNU, Mr. [redacted] Mrs. FNU [redacted]
[redacted] - LNU - Negro - Female, age 31, height 5-6, weight 135, hair black, eyes black, complexion dark, glasses yes, and Mr. Abe Unger - instructor.

Mr. Unger asked what topic should he give his classes on. For each of these topics he will talk on will take four (4) or six (6) weeks.

The first was current events - concerning the American Indians on Reservations in North Carolina and the Klu Klux Klan (KKK). [redacted] and [redacted] LNU stated that the Indians are armed and would use these arms the next time the KKK would try to hold a demonstration on the reservation grounds. Also that in Brooklyn N.Y. is the largest Indian population outside of these Reservations. These Indians who have left the reservations will if can be persuaded by the Communist Party or organizations be educated and be sent back on the reservations to instigate and stir up the rights of Indians as many Indians on these reservations do not have any education. Therefore those who will be educated and sent back will try to seek some form of leadership on the reservation to fight discrimination down South or out west.

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As to what steps any organization can do to help the Indians will be taken up at a later date.

ELM

P.S. This class is newly organized as a re-educational class designed to train prospective CP members and to bring old members back into the CP.

caf

att #1 to 100-95583-45-8

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Standard Form No. 64

OFFICE MEMORANDUM-----U.S. GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-17738) Date: March 4, 1958
FROM: SAC, San Francisco (100-32109)
SUBJECT: FRED MORRIS FINE
INTERNAL SECURITY-C
SMITH ACT OF 1940
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950
OO: CHICAGO

CLASSIFICATION BY 6076 on 9-11-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

cc:

3 - Bureau (100-17738) (REGIS)
6 - Chicago (Encl-301) (REGIS) (3 - 100-18001-FRED FINE)
(1 - 100-24729-EMANUEL BLUM)
(1 - 100-12890-)
(1 - -GEORGE MORRIS)
1 - Cleveland (65-721(Encl-3)(REGIS) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
1 - Indianapolis (Info)(Encl-23)(REGIS)
4 - Los Angeles (Encl-47)(REGIS) (1 - 100-4663-BEN DOBBS)
(1 - 100-4486-DOROTHY HEALEY)
(1 - -CP, USA, SOUTHERN
CALIF. DISTRICT)
(1 - 100-23198-)
1 - Minneapolis (100-6379-) (Encl-22)(REGIS)
8 - New York (Encl-47)(REGIS) (1 - 100-50806--19-2 GEORGE CHARNEY)
(1 - BETTY GANNETT)
(1 - 100-17923 19-1 JOHN GATES)
(1 - 100-50090 19-1 SID STEIN)
(1 - 100-80641 19-1 CP, USA ORG.)
(1 - CP, USA, PARTY LINE)
(1 - CP, STRATEGY IN IND.
(1 - 100-26603 19 CP, USA NY DIST.)
1 - Pittsburgh (100-1763 (Encl-6)(REGIS) (STEVE NELSON)
1 - Salt Lake City (Info)(Encl-4)(REGIS)
5 - San Francisco (1 - 100-32109)
(1 - 65-1242 - ALBERT LIMA (Attachments-6)
(1 - 100-40021 WM. SENNETT (Attachment-1)
(1 - 100-28630 STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY (Attachments-2)
(1 - 100-27747 CP, ORGANIZATION (Attachment-1)

RSB:AKP
(31)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 11 1958	
FBI - CHICAGO	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-95583-459

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SF 100-32109

On January 31, 1958, CSSF 2339-S* (documentation unnecessary) furnished photographs of material pertinent to CP activities to Agents of the San Francisco Division. This source had access to the effects of FRED MORRIS FINE, CP National Trade Union Director and functionary of the Chicago Division.

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One copy of each document is being transmitted to Chicago for its information. The original film will be retained by San Francisco as a bulky exhibit to [redacted].

In addition, the following photographs pertinent to other divisions are enclosed as indicated:

Photo No.

- 1-5 "On the Approach to the Party Program" by [redacted]
[redacted] (Encl. LA)
- 6-8 Letter to FINE dated Jan. 17 from [redacted]
(Encl. Minneapolis)
- 9-17 Untitled opus by DOROTHY HEALEY (Encl. LA).
- 18-25 Minutes of Southern District of California Council meetings for January 3, 1958 (Encl. LA)
- 26-27 Motions adopted by Northern California District Council-ALBERT A. LIMA (SF)
- 28-31 Letters dated Oct. 30 and Nov. 18 from [redacted]
(Encl. Minneapolis)
- 32 Jan. 12, 1958 letter from FINE to EMANUEL BLUM
33 Jan. 12, 1958 letter from FINE to GEORGE MORRIS
34 Jan. 12, 1958 letter from FINE to STEVE (NELSON)
(all encl Pittsburgh)
- 35 Jan. 12, 1958 letter from FINE to SID STEIN (encl-NY)
- 36-37 FINE letter dated Dec. 13, 1957 to [redacted] (encl-Minneapolis)
- 38-41 January 2 letters from [redacted] (Encl-Minneapolis)
- 42-43 Two letters, the authors of which are unknown)

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SF 100-32109

Photo No.

- 44 Jan. 2, 1958 letter from GEORGE B. CHARNEY (encl. NY)
- 45-47 FINE letter dated Dec. 30, 1957 to [] (encl. Minneapolis) b6 b7C
- 48-49 FINE letter to ALBERT LIMA, (SF)
- 50-51 "Proposed Estimate of the National Executive Committee on the Main Task Confronting the Party" (encl. NY-CP Line)
- 52-53 FINE letter dated Nov. 18 to SID STEIN (Encl-NY)
- 54-60 Untitled, unsigned document on the role of the party.
- 62-63 Jan. 1958 letter to members of the National Committee from JOHN GATES (Encl-NY)
- 64-68 Letters to all National Committee members from SID STEIN (Encl-NY)
- 69-71 Jan. 12, 1958 letter to [] (encl-Minneapolis)
- 72-88 The Indiana substitute Labor policy statement (encl-Indianapolis) b6 b7C
- 89 FINE telegram concerning JOHN GATES (Encl-NY)
- 92-94 FINE letter dated Jan. 12, 1958 to [] (encl-Minneapolis)
- 95-97 Votes taken at Illinois State Committee Jan. 10, 1958
- 101-102 Letter dated Jan. 2, 1958 from ALBERT LIMA, SF
- 107 A map and directions to the residence of [] former Chicago functionary b6 b7C
- 108-118 "Communist Program for Peace-Time Jobs and Better Living in 1958" issued by the Southern California District, CP (encl-LA)

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SF 100-32109

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- 119-144 Miscellaneous notes, presumably FINE's
 - 145-146 Northern California proposals on reconstruction and strategy in industry
 - 147-151 Jan. 14, 1958 letter from STEVE NELSON (encl-Pittsburgh)
 - 152-161 Duplicate copy of 108-118 above (encl-NY)(CP Line)
 - 162-163 Notice to all districts concerning Socialist Youth Conference from [REDACTED] b6 b7c
 - 164-171 Communication authored by SID STEIN (encl-NY)
 - 172-175 "Resolution on 12 Party Statement" and response by N.E.C. (encl-NY) (CP, USA PARTY LINE)
 - 176-178 Minutes from NY State Committee dated Dec. 13-14, 1957 (CP, USA NY DIST.)(Encl-NY)
 - 183 Dec. 16, 1957 letter to the N.A.C. from BEN DOBBS (encl-LA)
 - 184-185 Letters dated Oct. 2 and Oct. 31, 1957 to the N.E.C. from ANTON KRCHMAREK (encl-CV)
 - 186-187 Letter dated Aug. 28, 1957 to the N.E.C. from BETTY GANNETT (encl-NY)
 - 188-189 Letter to the N.E.C. from the New York State Committee dated 12/16/57 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT)(Encl-NY)
 - 190 Re Cleveland Taft-Hartley case (encl-Cleveland)
 - 195-200 Additional correspondence on the Indiana substitute (encl-Indianapolis)
 - 202 Outline for Pacific Coast Regional Labor Conference

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SF 100-32109

- ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
- 203-217 Miscellaneous notes, presumably FINE's
 - 218-221 Correspondence from the Utah Trade Union Group (encl-SU)
 - 222-225 "Program for Labor In 1958" (Strategy in industry-Encl-NY)
 - 226-238 Handwritten notes beginning "My Remarks in LA" (encl-LA)
 - 239-301 Miscellaneous notes, presumably FINE's.

Offices receiving these documents are requested to include the information in reports where pertinent.

Chicago may wish to make additional dissemination after their informed analysis.

5-1-70
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C320)
(12-10)

DATE: 3/6/58

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (7)

b6
b7CSUBJECT: CP, USA
KINGSBRIDGE
IS - C

Identity of Source

[REDACTED], who has furnished
reliable info in past.
(conceal)

Description of Info

1/13/58

Date Received

2/3/58

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Received By

SA [REDACTED]

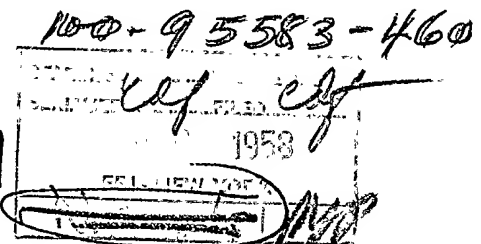
Original Located

[REDACTED]

Utmost care must be used in handling and
reporting the following information in order to protect
the identity of the informant.

By report dated 1/19/58, [REDACTED] furnished informa-
tion regarding the CP in the Kingsbridge area, NYC.

[REDACTED] (7)
1-NY (100-26603-C40) (CP BRONX CO.) (12-10)
1-NY (100-69941) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-25821) (CHARLES HENDLEY) (12-10)
1-NY (100-132945) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-123890) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-133788) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-129802) (CP, USA COUNTER INTELLIGENCE) (19)
1-NY (100-80639) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (19)
1-NY (100-83215) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (97-169) (WORKER) (7-2)
1-NY (100-133090) (COMMITTEE FOR SANE NUCLEAR POLICY) (7-2)
1-NY (100-102697) (INFILTRATION - MASS ORGANIZATIONS)
1-NY (100-95583) (CP LINE) (19)
1-NY (100-26603-C320) (12-10)

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b7DJPH:ume
(15)

NY 100-26603-C320

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.
Activities.

Jan. 19, 1958

A meeting of the Northwest Bronx Section of the Communist Party was held on Jan. 13th, 1958 at the apart. of [] at [] Bronx, N.Y.

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The following members were present at this meeting: []

[] Charles Hendley, []
[] and [].

The main point of discussion was the question of registration of the C.P. members in the section.

[] who [] the meeting, said that each area in the section registrated "a number of members" but "we are far behind the 1956 registration." She proposed to step up the registration campaign.

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[] told the meeting that her C.P. club registered 8 members and that the club decided to go after those who left the C.P. Since the 1956 registration.

[] claimed that her club didn't meet for months. She registered 4 members and she will keep on trying to register the rest of the members. She stated that she approached [] but he refused to register, but she will keep on trying. "I belive there is a good chance that Carl will eventually reregister."

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Charles Hendley raised the question of dividing the areas into clubs.

[] opposed this suggestion: "lets wait until we will be trough with the registration."

NY 100-26603-0320

The meeting also discussed "The Worker." Charles Hendley stated that "The Worker" is in a "grave condition. It will be impossible to build the party (C.P.) without The Worker. It was bad enough that we were compelled to suspend the Daily Worker but should this happen to "The Worker" to we might as well kiss good-bye to the party. The party can not survive without the press. As a matter of fact we must keep on thinking in terms of renewing the publication of the Daily Worker."

Hendley called for a drive in this section to raise funds for the Worker.

[] stated that the raising of funds for the Worker is important but still more important is to regain the lost readers. He said that this section decided to combine the registration with the campaign for subs, as far as he knows, not one sub-new or renewal - was obtained during the few weeks of the registration campaign. "It looks that we are good followers of our top leadership. While the "Duclos" and the "Togliatt" of the party, of the U.S. Communist Party, are engaged in theorizing about theory and arguing about policy the party is slowly but surely disintegrating. We here also are arguing and discussing while the members are leaving us and the press, well, one paper died and the other one, The Worker, is in an advanced stage of cancer. Only subs and funds might still save The Worker."

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The meeting decided to concentrate during the next few weeks on getting subs and raising funds in the section.

[] proposed to involve all of the C.P. areas in the Northwest section in the work of the "Bronx Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy." She claimed that the organization of neighborhood committees for a sane nuclear policy "will serve to satisfy the desire of our members to do mass work. It will be easy to organize such committees

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NY 100-26603-C320

because the people want peace. They are afraid of an atomic war and the poisonous effect of the fall-outs." The discussions on this subject led the meeting to the conclusion that the organization of neighborhood committees for a sane nuclear policy "will serve the purpose of organizing the people for the struggle for peace and coexistence." [redacted], while agreeing with this conclusion, claimed that "at this stage of affairs in the party, especially in our section, we can not afford to ~~throw in our~~ forces into one project. It will divert our limited membership from our main, at present at least, objectives: the building of the party and the press." He suggested to turn over this question to the county committee for discussion. The meeting agreed with this proposals and also decided to continue discussions on this subjects at the meetings of this section committee.

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It was decided to hold the next meeting of the Northwest Bronx Section Committee at the same place on Jan. 28th, 1958.

J. Morris.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (12-10) DATE 3/19/58
FROM : SA [REDACTED] b6
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SUBJECT: CP, USA
BRONX CO.
IS-C

Identity of Source [REDACTED] who has
furnished reliable info
in past (conceal)

Description of info 2/24/58

Date Received 3/3/58

Received by

SA [REDACTED]

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1 [REDACTED] (Invest) (7)
1-NY (100-69941) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-132945) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-25821) (CHARLES HENDLEY) (12-10)
1-NY (100-123890) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-26603-C320) (CP Kingsbridge) (12-10)
1-NY (100-81675) (CP, USA Pamphlets, Publication) (19-1)
1-NY (100-12481) [REDACTED] (19-1)
1-NY (100-107444) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-95583) (CP Line) (19-1)
1-NY (100-129802) (CP Counter Intelligence) (19-1)
1-NY (100-102697) (Cominfil, Mass Organization) (19-1)
1-NY (100-59884) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-133090) (Committee For Sane Nuclear Policy) (7-2)
1-NY (100-26603) (CP, USA, NY Dist.) (19-2)
1-NY (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
1-NY (100-26603-C40)

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JPH:rmv
(17)

100-95583-1461

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SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 19 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-26603-C40

Original located [redacted]

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

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By report dated 2/25/58, [redacted] furnished detailed information regarding a Northwest Bronx Section CP meeting held 2/24/58.

A copy of informant's report follows:

<u>Report</u>	<u>Communist Party U.S.A.</u>	<u>Feb. 25, 1958</u>
	<u>Activities.</u>	<u>New York.</u>

A meeting of the Northwest Bronx Section Committee C.P. was held on Feb. 24th, 1958 at [redacted] Bronx, N.Y. at the apart. of [redacted].

The following members were present at this meeting:

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[redacted], Charles Hendley, [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] who chaired the meeting.

[redacted] reported that the County (Bronx) Committee (C.P.) carried out the instructions of the last membership meeting and issued a leaflet on Tunisia. She said that there were "heated discussions" in the County Committee on the question of this leaflet. She said that some members of the County Committee claimed that it was too late to issue a leaflet on Tunisia; that this should have been done weeks ago. There was also disagreement on the amount of leaflets to be issued. Some members

NY 100-26603-C40

insisted that 10,000 leaflets should be issued for mass distribution. After lengthy discussions the County Committee agreed to issue 2,500 leaflets on Tunisia. The leaflets should be distributed among the 8 sections in the Bronx. Parts of the leaflets should be distributed by the party clubs in the working class neighborhoods and parts of this leaflets should be mailed out by the Sections and Clubs to leaders of trade Unions, to church and mass organization leaders. She also reported that [redacted] and [redacted] were assigned to compose the leaflet on Tunisia.

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She said that after the leaflet was ready and read to another meeting of the County Committee there was a lot of criticism of the way the leaflet was written. The critics of the leaflet which carries the title of "Outrage in Tunisia" claimed that "we are still using the same old slogans like 'Demand that the new loan to France be cancelled,' etc. These critics, [redacted] stated, claimed that the Communist party is not in a position at this stage to "order the American people to demand." Other critics of the leaflet wanted to have the question of Tunisia closely connected with the "general struggle against Colonialism."

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The majority of the County Committee of the Bronx C.P. voted to distribute the leaflet "Outrage in Tunisia."

The Bronx Northwest Section Committee C.P. received 500 leaflets for distribution. There was a lot of discussion on the question of the issuing and the distribution of this leaflet.

NY 100-26603-C40

[] agreed that it does sound "a little foolish to ask the American people to demand... I don't think the American people are inclined to lend a ear to the demands of the Communist party...and it is a bit late to..."

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Charles Hendley claimed that "it isn't late...The question of Tunisia will come up again and again and no matter what our (C.P.) influence is...our business is to allert the American people...This is part of our propaganda; of our education of the American people..."

[] claimed that "after years of being quiete we at last came out in the open... This leaflet issued in the name of the Bronx Communist party is serving the purpose of our fight for the legality of the party (C.P.)."

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It was decided to distribute these leaflets among the clubs for distribution as outlined above.

[] also reported that the Bronx County Committee is calling a "workshop on peace" meeting (also instructed to do so by the last membership meeting of the Bronx County C.P.) "for those comrades who work in mass organizations."

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A meeting will be held on Feb. 27th, 1958 at [] [], at []'s apart. [] on a "Sane Nuclear policy." The Sections of the Bronx C.P. were instructed to have to this meeting two members from each area.

The "Workshop on peace" meeting will be held on March 4th at 1520 Crotona Park E. (Near 172 St.) at apart 1F (phone LU 9-4238). Communists who work in mass organizations should be asked to attend this meeting.

NY 100-26603-C40

[] reported that the N.Y. State Committee C.P. approved the establishment of a Permanent Press Committee and also approved a plan of work and suggestions of how to improve The Worker. The main work at present is concentrated on the sub drive and on raising of funds for The Worker. At this meeting \$85 came in for the fund drive: Charles Hendley brought in \$45; Doris - \$15; [] \$10; [] \$5; [] - \$10.

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[] was instructed to turn over the \$85 to the Worker.

This meeting decided to concentrate in the areas on the sub drive and the registration campaign.

It was also decided to enlarge the Northwest Section Committee. Each club or area should elect to this Committee a "member at large." This decision should be taken up at the coming meetings of the clubs.

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The next meeting of this Committee will be held on March 18th, 1958 at the apart. of []

J. Morris

3-31-58.
OFFICE MEMORANDUM

**** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603 C41

DATE 3/20/58

FROM : SA CHARLES D. SHORES

SUBJECT: QUEENS COUNTY CP
IS-C

Source [redacted]

Reliability who has furnished reliable information
in the past

Location [redacted]

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On 2/26/58, [redacted] furnished information concerning a Queens County CP Committee meeting which was held on 2/25/58. This information was reduced to writing on 2/27/58, and the informant initialled the written statement on 3/4/58.

1. [redacted] (Invest)
1-NY 100-103872 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-13527 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-128481 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-52334 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-76134 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-131161 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-64505 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-323 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-96199 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-119285 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-95636 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-101473 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-71535 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-7658 (LEMENT HARRIS) (12-13)
1-NY 100-60648 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-34067 [redacted] (12-13)
1-NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (19)
1-NY 100-128821 (Factionalism) (19)
1-NY 100-26603 (New York State CP) (19)
1-NY 100-26603-C359 (Corona Section) (12-13)
1-NY 97-169 (Freedom of the Press) (7-2)

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(Copies Cont'd. Next Page)

1-NY 100-26603 C41

CDS:bof
(35)

100-95583-462

#19

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 20 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-26603 C 41

On 2/26/58, [] identified a photograph of [] as being identical with the individual who brought ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN to the meeting.

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The signed statement is attached.

(Copies Cont'd.)

1-NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)
1-NY 100-26603-C1865 (Kew-Pomonok Section) (12-13)
1-NY 100-26603-C1759 (Rockaway Section) (12-13)
1-NY 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS) (12-14)
1-NY 100-50842 [] (12-16)
1-NY 100-131660 (Southern Region) (19)
1-NY 100-95583 (Line) (19)
1-NY 100-128804 (Youth) (19)
1-NY 100-128817 (Membership) (19)
1-NY 100-128815 (Negro) (19)
1-NY 100-128814 (Organization) (19)
1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19)

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NY 100-26603041

"February 25, 1958"

"A meeting of the Queens County Communist Party (CP) Committee was held on Feb. 25, 1958 in the meeting room of the Allen and Edwards Real Estate office, 168-18 Liberty Ave., Jamaica Queens.

"The following CP members attended this meeting:

" [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] of East Queens
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Len Harris

[redacted] (identified from photograph)
[redacted] s wife
[redacted]

" [redacted] and his wife brought Elizabeth Gurley Flynn to the meeting.

"Before the meeting started the [redacted] and [redacted] got into a violent argument. The [redacted] accused [redacted] of not picking them up for membership in the Kew -Pomonek Section even though [redacted] was supposed to have received an official CP transfer for them. They cited [redacted]

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NY 100-26603 C41

"as an example of why the CP is losing members by being a poor section organizer.

[] finally pushed [] and the two [] into a back room so that he could start the meeting. They were still arguing and did not return to the meeting for some time.

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[] opened the meeting on a point of 'personal privilege.' [] then read a letter which he had sent to the National Committee of the CP. [] resigned as Organizational Secretary of the Queens County CP and he also resigned from the New York State CP Committee. He gave as his reason that the opinions of the minority in the CP are not being recognized and this minority is unable to express opinions freely. [] stated he is retaining his CP membership.

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"The Queens County Committee members present then voted on whether to accept []'s resignation. With the exception of [] the vote was unanimous to accept his resignation.

[] then nominated [] to take []'s positions as State Committee man. [] said that [] would take over Elizabeth's job as Organizer of the Corona Section.

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[] nominated [] for []'s positions. His nomination upset [] since [] has been accused of 'Gatesism' in the past. However, [] declined the nomination and [] was elected to the stated positions.

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[] and [] did not arrive at the meeting until after the voting had taken place. They both accepted their new positions.

NY 100-26603 C41

"Elizabeth Gurley Flynn then gave her talk. She spoke on building up the Party and on getting rid of the 'right wing' elements who have been causing so much dissension in the Party. She said that the national leadership of the CP is not to blame for the present disorganized state of the Party but rather leadership on lower levels is to blame. She said that local leadership is not collecting dues and are not holding meetings. For those reasons many members are drifting away.

"Flynn said she is Editor-in-Chief of 'The Worker' and she is going to build the paper up to its former prominence. She said that all John Gates did while he was editor was to smoke cigars, put his feet on his desk and issue occasional orders. She said she is going to take a much more active interest in the editorial policy of the paper.

"Flynn said the Party is going to make an issue by opposing the proposed increase in postal rates.

"A discussion period followed Flynn's talk.

"[redacted] said that he had considered resigning from the CP at this meeting but that after listening to Flynn he has decided to remain in the Party and fight to build it up. He also said he has not been able to register many members in the Kew-Pomonok Section as yet.

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"Lem Harris praised Flynn's talk. He said he would like to see less talk and more work in the Party. Harris said he has not been able to register more than 7 members in Rockaway as yet.

NY 100-26603.0417

"[redacted] went all out in his praise of Flynn's talk.

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"[redacted] proposed that the Queens County Committee direct a letter to George Morris demanding an apology from him for what she claimed was Morris' unwarranted attack on [redacted]'s Party loyalty at a previous committee meeting. This proposal was acted on favorably.

"[redacted] announced there would be an emergency Committee meeting on March 11, 1958 on the unemployment situation. On March 25, 1958 the Committee meeting will take up juvenile delinquency.

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[redacted] said that juvenile delinquency will be made an issue in Queens County. Flyers will be printed and passed out or posted in public places. He urged everyone to submit articles on juvenile delinquency which will be forwarded to [redacted] who has promised to publish everything he gets on this subject in a paper he has.

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"[redacted] announced that on March 17, 1958 at Pythian Hall in New York City there would be a rally in connection with Southern Solidarity Bonds to help Negroes in the South. He urged all CP members to attend this rally.

"In addition [redacted] proposed that the Committee adopt a resolution endorsing the course taken by the present leadership, as advocated by Eugene Dennis and which was discussed by Flynn in her talk. The resolution was acted on favorably by the Committee with one against, [redacted] and two not voting, [redacted] and [redacted].

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763Z) DATE: 2/19/58

FROM : SA ROBERT R. CARMICHAEL, JR.

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP), USA
IS-C

cc:

[REDACTED]

b7D

8 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(MICKEY LIMA)
(NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
DISTRICT, CP, USA)
(CP BRIEF)
(CP LINE)
(DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION
ISSUES)
(FACTIONALISM)
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(ORGANIZATION)

100-4663 (B. DOBBS) (SI)
100-4486 (D. HEALEY) (SI)
100-20992 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-27419 (M. LIMA)
100-34884 (S. STEIN)
100-23556 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-52571 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-42626 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-23198 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-23397 (CP BRIEF)
100-32439 (CP LINE)
100-26045 (DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
100-24352 (FACTIONALISM)
100-24349 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)

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6 - San Diego (REGISTERED)
(CP BRIEF)
(CP LINE)
(DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION
ISSUES)
(FACTIONALISM)
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(ORGANIZATION)

7 - New York (REGISTERED)
(SID STEIN)
(CP BRIEF)
(CP LINE)
(DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION
ISSUES)
(FACTIONALISM)
(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
(ORGANIZATION)

RRC:srb
(39)

100-95583-463

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 3 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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LA 100-1763Z

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity should be concealed.	Minutes of District Council meeting, SCDCP, 12/8/57	1/21/58	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

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On 1/7/58 [redacted] furnished the writer with memo belts on which she had dictated a copy of the minutes of the District Council meeting, SCDCP, held 12/8/57. Transcription was done 1/14/58 by typist [redacted] and the report was signed by [redacted] on 1/21/58 in the presence of the writer.

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It should be noted that [redacted] is not a member of the District Council, SCDCP; however, a copy of the minutes of the above meeting were in her possession briefly early in January, at which time she dictated a verbatim copy thereof, which is set forth as follows:

"Minutes of District Council Meeting
December 8, 1957

"Quorum present 10:20 AM. Meeting called to order 10:30 AM. 48 regular members of District Council present. 23 observers and invited guests present.

"The following material was available to the delegates:

- "1. Abridged report of Comrade BEN to the District Council meeting of November 1, 1957.
- "2. Motions of the Northern California District and the statement of its Chairman, to the National Committee meeting of November 9 and 10, 1957.
- "3. Document on the 'Preparation for a Party Program' adopted at the National Committee meeting of November 9 and 10, 1957.
- "4. Amnesty material issued in Los Angeles and the cards to the President issued by the National Committee for amnesty.

"5. Limited number of the report of Comrade JAMES JACKSON at the above National Committee meeting on 'The South.'

"6. Issue No. 1 of the 'Party Affairs' bulletin.

"I. National Committee Meeting: DOROTHY H. made the following motion for the District Board: that special meetings of the District Council be called to discuss the main reports at the N. C. meeting. Inasmuch as the material will be available in writing all members can read and discuss the reports.

"After some debate the following motions were adopted:

"A. The next meeting of the District Council January 3, at 7:30 PM and be devoted to the report on The South.

"B. The next meeting of the District Council to be on January 19 at 10:00 AM on the 'Draft Statement on Labor Policy for 1958'.

"C. The District Board to empowered to invite Comrades to these meetings.

"D. That the material be made available to members as soon as possible.

"E. The Council Committees on each issue have special discussions and come in prepared for District Council meetings.

"[] spoke on procedure for the meeting. In view of the fact that the meeting of N.C. dealt with problems of the nature and character of the Party, as reflected in the Northern California resolution, and the original point to be discussed here was our Party organizational problems, he moved that we combine the discussion with a report on the content of the Northern California resolution dealt with at the N.C. meeting. The District Board had previously voted unanimously to bring before the District Council the positions of the Board on the Northern California resolution.

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"M. S. C.: To proceed with the report of the District Board on the National Committee meeting and combine the discussion with the Los Angeles Organizational problems.

"In reporting for the Board, DOROTHY pointed out that there were opposing views on the Northern California motions,

LA 100-1763Z

therefore, she would present the views of half of the Board and that [] would present the view point of the others. National Committee members and Board members would speak under provisions and impressions of the National Committee meeting.

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"MICKY LIMA, Chairman of the Northern California District was introduced. SID STEIN, National Executive Secretary, was introduced.

"DOROTHY then reported on the N. C. meetings and decisions on the draft program.

"The N. C. is critical of the delay in submission of the Party program, a task mandated by the 16th National Convention, for the completion within one year. Whatever the reasons for the political hesitation in advancing the work on a new Party program, the National Committee insists upon a qualitative change in the tempo of work on the program. It instructs the national administrative committee to submit a detailed set of working papers to the N. C. by its next meeting.

"It further declares that work on the new program can only go forward in its ideological atmosphere in which all theoretical propositions are subject to free and comradely discussion, in the light of the conditions of the struggles of the American Working Class and its allies."

"II. Motion on Northern California Resolution:

"That the N. C. instructs the next meeting of the National Executive Committee to review the work of the Party since the convention. On the basis of the discussion to bring recommendations to the next meeting of the N. C. in February on questions of policy, leadership, methods of work, etc."

"She then presented two motions based on the two decisions of the N. C. meeting: (a) that this District Council meeting instruct its representatives on the NEC on its insistence that the NEC prepare the report and carry out the above motion.

"(b) That this District Council instruct the N. C. delegation from Southern California to fight for discussion on the Party program in the atmosphere defined by the motion of the N. C., and instructing the NEC to call to account any Comrade who persists in violating this approach.

"Following DOROTHY's presentation of the national situation, [] gave a report representing other viewpoints.

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"It was moved that comrade STEIN, National Executive Secretary, speak at this time.

"He stated that he preferred this so that members of the District Council would have the opportunity to raise their questions on his remarks. The motion was carried and SID STEIN spoke on the reports. The members of the N. C. spoke.

"Eleven comrades, expressing differing views, spoke during the discussion and debate had to be close because of time considerations. MICKY LIMA, Chairman of the Northern California District CP, spoke on why they presented the motions to the N. C. meeting.

[] presented a substitute motion:

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"That our representative on the NEC and our representatives on the N. C. be instructed to fight for immediate discussions of ideological questions in a free atmosphere in which all matters can be discussed and all points of view presented; and that the discussions include the ideological differences as expressed on these specific five points.

"A. The approach to the consolidation of the Party, to stop losses, to break our isolation.

"B. The problems of the methods of activity to project our mass policies.

"C. The approach to the discussion and formulation of party programme.

"D. On our relations to the Socialist Countries and their Communist Party.

"E. Aspects of Party democracy as presented by the discussion in the NAC on the statement of the twelve parties of the Socialist countries.

"DOROTHY accepted the substitute motion and it was carried with one no (San Diego) vote and one abstention (CHARLENE).

"M/S/C: That we urge the NEC to discuss these matters presented in the Northern California motions and these five points in our District Council and place it on the December agenda.

"The Tubman Club presented a resolution urging a favorable vote on the Northern California motions:

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"M/S/C: That this be tabled in view of motion adopted on discussion.

"III. BEN reported on the referendum:

"1. The vote as recorded by reports of comrades present were authorized information: YES -----226 NO-----145
Tabulated abstentions-----12

"2. Many clubs sent in resolutions expressing many points of view on the referendum and the manner in which it was conducted.

"3. Motion: That we record the vote. That we refer the resolutions to the District Board.

"The delegate from the 21st spoke on the motion adopted by that Section Council urging the setting of another date and the issues of the referendum be submitted in writing to the memberships.

"After considerable debate the motions of the reporter were carried with the delegate from the 21st voting NO.

"IV. Floor was opened for nominations for District Legislative Director. The District Board nominated [] no other nominations were made.

"M/S/C/: That we have a secret ballot -----29 YES 8 NO
[] elected on a secret ballot.

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"V. [] - Western Section presented a statement for adoption by the District Council and moved that this be sent to all clubs, the press, and to see if other means of publicizing it could be used.

"M/S/C: Statement adopted and to be issued as a press release.

"The Statement is attached. No copy of statement issued to this observer.

"VI. A delegate raised the question of the tax situation in Los Angeles County. DOROTHY said that a group of Comrades and friends had adopted this problem and will soon have material for the District Board. It was recommended by a delegate to use the December 6, 1957 issue of 'The People's World' for discussion in the clubs.

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"VII. [] of Zapata Section presented a resolution:

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"After a thorough discussion in our section on a proposal for the establishment of a Mexican Commission it was finally resolved to request the District Council to:

"1. Prepare and call a conference on work in the Mexican community.

"2. The preparations to include:

"a. Main report

"b. Preliminary proposals for discussion

"c. Proposals on form of organization to implement proposals adopted at conference.

"M/S/C: To adopt the resolution of the Zapata Section.

"M/S/C: To refer to the District Board for implementation and a progress report to be given at the next meeting of the district council.

"Underlining signifies decisions of the District Council.

"December 16, 1957."

ACTION

Copies of this memo are being furnished to the San Diego, San Francisco, and New York Offices for their information.

Individuals identified in the above minutes by first name and/or initial appear from available information to be identical with BEN DOBBS, DOROTHY HEALEY, []

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[] and []; therefore, copies are designated for their respective files in Los Angeles.

Informant was thoroughly interviewed, and could furnish no additional information.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 3/14/58

CLASSIFIED BY 6076 on 9-11-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND
REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY
NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE
IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

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2-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
2-Baltimore (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-) (GEORGE MEYERS)
5-Chicago (100-18953) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-A/134-46)
(1-100-18001) (FRED FINE)
(1-61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1-100-)
2-Cleveland (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-) (HY LUMER)
2-Detroit (100-2050) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
2-Indianapolis (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-)
4-Los Angeles (100-26044) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
(1-100-) (BILL SCHNEIDERMAN)
(1-100-)
2-Minneapolis (100-1878P) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-6379)
2-Milwaukee (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-)
3-Newark (100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-100-19491) (PATRICK TOOHEY)
(1-100-2974)
2-San Francisco (100-27747) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1-65-1242) (MICKIE LIMA)
1-New York (100-80641)

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1-New York (100-50090) (SID STEIN) (19-1)
1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
1-New York (100-52959) [REDACTED] (12-1)
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1-New York (100-[REDACTED])
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1-New York (65-5604) (BILL ALBERTSON) (19-2)
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1-New York (100-9352) [REDACTED] (12-16)
1-New York (100-97167) (Political Affairs) (7-2)
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1-New York (100-130507) (Attempts of CP to form Broad
Socialist Movement) (19-1)
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1-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA - Line) (19-1)
1-New York (100-80640) (CP, USA - Negro Question) (19-1)
1-New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
1-New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
1-New York (100-49430) (PATRICK TOOHEY) (7-0)

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(U) The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC), CP, USA held in NYC on 2/14/58, as reported by NY 2179-S*.

(U) The following individuals were believed by informant to be in attendance:

EUGENE DENNIS
FRED FINE
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
GEORGE MEYERS
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY
SID STEIN
JACK STACHEL
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

[REDACTED]
JAMES E. JACKSON
DOROTHY HEALEY
[REDACTED]

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
CARL WINTER and others not identified.

(U) A surveillance of CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC, by Special Agents of the FBI determined that the following individuals were observed entering CP Headquarters on above date:

MICKIE LIMA
HY LUMER
[REDACTED]

EMANUEL BLUM
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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Informant reported that GEORGE MEYERS acted as Chairman for the meeting. The meeting opened

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by an unidentified individual stating that Comrade [] should be invited into the meeting at 3:00 p.m. as a special order of business.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he concurred with the recommendation of [] to set up a sub-committee which was to meet during the luncheon hours. DENNIS mentioned that a "hell of a lot is involved in this." He then referred to []'s letter adding that there should not have been such a letter.

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Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE then asked why is it better to know peace meal adding that he did not know whether there would be any better security in reports. (Believed FINE is referring to report of sub-committee on [] letter.)

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that (WILLIAM L.) PATTERSON was unable to be here (meeting). He said that the [] letter was written without any consultation with the staff. He said that finances should be kept out of factional dispute, adding if this could not be done they should not only have [] but also [] and others. DAVIS stated that not to invite others (to the discussion) would not be fair and that they should not draw this committee (NEC) into a sort of supreme court without facts. Continuing, DAVIS remarked that further damage to the party would result and would present a picture of national leadership involved in a "hell of a donnybrooke" over finances.

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Remarks of SID STEIN

Informant reported that STEIN referring

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to [] asked "Will he give the facts?" STEIN continued by saying that he understood that he would not. DAVIS answered STEIN'S query by remarking that he had no indication that [] would not give the facts.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL then referred to the [] report commenting that he [] believes that certain action is going to be necessary. STACHEL commented that action has to be taken which will affect others and therefore has to be handled in a very responsible way.

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Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY commented that she did not care what the consequences were, adding that ultimately this body (NEC) is going to have a responsibility. She remarked that in her opinion she did not think it wise to set up a new sub-committee when the present sub-committee could not accomplish its job. She recommended that [] should be invited (to the meeting) when [] appears.

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Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE commented that JACK (STACHEL) said there is enough facts but FINE complained that he (FINE) was not in possession of all the facts. He recommended that they have a 3:00 p.m. meeting and have [] S [] sub-committee report as well as having [] and [] present. FINE added that he did not know what was in the [] letter.

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Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN commented about the lack of security with regard to the [] letter. She

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added that lately security has been completely thrown out of the window and there is no regard for the possibility of action against our organization by outside force. She added that she was sure that everyone understood that "we are not free from investigation and attack."

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that the sub-committee should make recommendations and then the National Committee will accept it.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] stated that he was in favor of this committee having full power and added that they should not prejudice the handling of the question.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and recommended that the Sub-committee be set up and have it report back to the Executive Committee later that day. Informant reported that among the names mentioned for the Sub-committee were the following:

CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT)

CARL (WINTER)

DOROTHY HEALEY

EUGENE DENNIS

GEORGE MEYERS, with [REDACTED] to

act as [REDACTED] of the Sub-committee. Informant reported that CARL WINTER suggested that JIM JACKSON replace him at this sub-committee.

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Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN then spoke concerning the agenda for the coming National Committee meeting. He mentioned

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that the manifesto (64 Party declaration) should be the last point on the agenda. STEIN then furnished the National Administrative Committee's recommendation on the agenda for the National Committee meeting:

1. Discuss Party situation.

He added that no reports would be given, however, resolutions would be adopted from proposals received after discussion. He said that the following 2 points would come under Party situation:

- A. 12 Party statement.
- B. Resignation of (JOHN) GATES.

2. Moving of National Center to Chicago, that is whether to move or not to move.

3. Leadership

4. Special order of business - report on economic situation.

5. Report on "The Worker".

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT proposed that the question of the agenda should be held in abeyance until the report from the Sub-Committee was completed (believed referring to report on [] letter and [] []).

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that with regard to the discussion on the Party situation, this should be completed by the afternoon session and that there

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should be a vote by 6:00 p.m. (referring to afternoon session of National Committee meeting Saturday 2/15/56.)

DENNIS continued stating that at 6:00 p.m. they should begin the discussion on leadership and the move to Chicago. He said that Sunday they should discuss the economic report, elections and work on the mass organization. He said that this would be followed by an extensive discussion on Sunday afternoon with the preparation of a report on the situation within the Party.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke and proposed that the first point on the agenda should be the discussion of the Party situation.

Unknown Male

~~#~~ An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and stated that GENE'S (DENNIS) proposal in relation to the question of time with regard to the agenda is not realistic.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY remarked that the Executive Committee has not made provision for BILL SCHNEIDERMAN'S report.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER commented that "We are told that Comrade BILL SCHNEIDERMAN was invited to New York." He added that he did not want to make a major point of this, but that he was unable to see his (SCHNEIDERMAN) priority since this day is the touch stone for the entire Party.

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Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN stated that the NEC could not resolve the national economic situation until it resolves certain internal problems. He added that it was impossible to avoid (BILL) SCHNEIDERMAN'S letter, however, he said the thought it could be handled in a substantive way here.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT commented that he was in no mood to discuss anything but the Sub-committee report.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS - Chairman

MEYERS asked if there were any amendments to the agenda. He mentioned (CARL) WINTER proposed that the agenda be changed to have the economic question placed first and everything else to follow.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER stated that the internal situation must be resolved with regard to the situation in and out of the Party. He stated that the economic situation is affecting the thinking of the whole working class, adding that this has been his experience throughout districts with regard to their discussion of the labor policy statements.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL commented with regard to discussion of the first point (of agenda) he said that 2 reports were to be presented before the last National Administrative Committee (NAC) meeting. He said that he had an informal discussion with CARL WINTER the other evening and would recommend the

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postponing of things for a period of 3 to 6 months.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY spoke and proposed the following agenda:

1. Party situation.
2. Economic situation.
3. Chicago.
4. Leadership.
5. "The Worker".

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER commented that the essence of his proposal was to inquire as to what the left secretarian and revisionist is going to do on the economic situation. He added that he did not want to get out a (personal) proposal against them.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN commented that this agenda leaves no room for removal of those comrades (believed referring to [] and others.)

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS commented that he believed that the order of business can be arranged to give the effect of a new leadership. He said that it is to be on the basis of mass work - no purporting to smother the internal situation.

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Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and stated that some comrades do not want to get involved until the Party leadership is resolved. He said that some comrades are fighting for leadership alone. He expressed the opinion that the differences within the Party have to be resolved subsequent to a discussion of these differences, and not by re-arranging the Committee's (National Committee) agenda.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN recommended that they have a vote and not prolong the discussion.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS - Chairman

MEYERS stated that the proposal is that we have the report of HY (LUMER'S economic report) first and that this be the first point under discussion.

Informant reported that a vote was then taken on CARL WINTER'S motion for the agenda's amendment to place the economic situation as the first point on the agenda for the National Committee meeting. This amendment was carried 8 in favor with 7 opposed.

Remarks of FRED FINE

FINE stated that they should settle when the first point (economic situation) will terminate.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that this discussion should terminate by 4:00 p.m. and that a vote should be taken during the Saturday evening session.

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Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN commented that this was an impossibility.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT proposed that on the basis of what they have now he would recommend that GENE (DENNIS) and SID (STEIN) organize the remainder of the agenda.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN commented that he will object strenuously before the National Committee to the whole approach by the Committee (NEC) to this entire situation.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS - Chairman

MEYERS then referred to a motion made by EUGENE DENNIS that the National Committee itself should make proposals with regard to the remainder of the agenda.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY made the proposal that the NEC is required to explain why a decision of the last National Committee with regards to reports on the National Labor Conference, the National Negro Conference, and the labor policy statement which gave specific instructions, was not carried out by the NAC. She added that she will review her motion after the NEC has been given a sufficient explanation by the NAC.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT commented that the question on

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leadership should precede the question of the move to Chicago.

Informant reported that a general discussion then ensued on the question of invitees to the National Committee meeting, which resulted in a number of proposals being made, and as a result it was proposed that they (National Committee) have an Executive session.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN then inquired if this meant that everyone would be omitted.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS - Chairman

MEYERS then called this question for a vote. The motion was carried 8 in favor 6 opposed that the National Committee be in Executive session.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

WINTER stated that he did not vote on this question.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL commented that most comrades did not know what was going on, adding that he did not know.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS - Chairman

MEYERS asked for a motion to proceed, but an unidentified individual asked that there be a motion to reconsider.

Remarks of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN stated that she would be willing to reconsider on (ARNOLD) JOHNSON, (WILLIAM L.) PATTERSON and (ALEXANDER) BITTLEMAN.

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SID STEIN interrupted FLYNN by suggesting that there be 8 more names. FLYNN commented that the original proposal was that there would be 3 (invitees) and added that she was not adverse to the extension of this list.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that they should take a vote on the consideration. This vote was carried 9 in favor and 5 opposed for reconsideration.

Remarks of SID STEIN

SID STEIN then read the following names, apparently individuals who were invited to the National Committee meeting:

[REDACTED]

ARNOLD JOHNSON

[REDACTED] (believed [REDACTED])

GEORGE MORRIS

BILL ALBERTSON

ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

MORRIS CHILDS and

[REDACTED]

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

To move that we have a motion to elect a new editorial board for P.A. (Political Affairs).

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, spoke and then referred to a letter written to (EUGENE) DENNIS from Comrade PAT (TOOHEY).

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Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT then asked the unidentified individual whether he was present when this letter was read.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN stated that GENE (DENNIS) read it (the letter) at a NAC meeting and at the end of his reading discovered that it was from PAT (TOOHEY) and that it was to be confidential. STEIN continued, saying that GENE then asked the members of the NAC not to reveal its contents since it was a personal letter.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT recommended that [] get together with GENE (DENNIS) and BEN (DAVIS) to see what PAT (TOOHEY) said.

Remarks of []

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[] stated that Comrade (PAT) TOOHEY had discussed with her the fact that he had a meeting with GENE DENNIS. She said that she would invite the comrades of this Committee to go to her district (New Jersey) to see the situation.

Remarks of []

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[] stated that the Sub-committee will meet on the second floor where there is a blackboard.

Informant reported that following the recess the meeting continued with the following comments by CARL WINTER:

WINTER gave a report on efforts of

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himself and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to revise a collective report for the National Committee. He stated this document is subject to two types of amendments. He commented that certain type amendments are valuable in that they oblige everyone to set down crystal clear where the parts company. There are certain kinds of amendments toward which we should display a welcoming attitude. WINTER suggested that the meeting adjourn for approximately 15 minutes in order for the members to read the document under discussion. Following the short adjournment, GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman called the meeting to order and commented that Comrade GENE (DENNIS) has the floor.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that SID (STEIN) had expressed an opinion and was prepared to state a resolution on the California document. CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and CARL (WINTER) prepared to accept this resolution as a basis (for discussion). They agreed to work on the document.

The first thing that struck me about their work is that we have an amalgamation of the California resolution, SID'S (STEIN) report and a couple of items from my report.

DENNIS added that their efforts were motivated by the highest interest in the Party, but "it will mean all things to all men" depending on your position. Adding as an example the questions on revisionism and the vanguard role.

I think in the struggle for unity which is of cardinal importance, the National Committee should take a clear position on a number of points, namely, the class struggle, the significance of the 16th National Convention and the issues of dogmatism and revisionism.

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There are a number of theoretical questions also that must be settled. We should reach an accurate view, something must be clearly upheld and in agreeing we will save the Party.

Informant reported that SID STEIN then interrupted DENNIS requesting that DENNIS point out the points of divergence.

Continuing, DENNIS mentioned the question on (JOHN) GATES and his symbol of the Party's trend toward Socialism. DENNIS commented that since the 16th National Convention the Party has been unsuccessful in carrying out these principles and the leadership is divided.

DENNIS was of the opinion that the National Committee should come to a concrete stand on 6 points, as set out in the 16th National Convention.

1. Insure the Party's participation in the important class struggles.
2. Make the best contribution in the present struggles and clarify our action in respect to the 16th National Convention.
3. Rebuild the CP.

He added that the convention set up features based on Marxism - Leninism. It set up issues of the Party's vanguard role. We must have a Party of action. We must prohibit all factions, adding "the Party is here to stay." He said "we" must not be confused with the United Socialist Party. We must be a vanguard working Party guided by Marxism-Leninism.

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4. Errors of the past were all left sectarianism. There is still a struggle against left sectarianism and right opportunism. We must refute the revisionists to build the Party. We must struggle against the factions that are against the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

5. Establish agreement on the above points. All should study the 64 Party Declaration, and those who reject it should be looked on as dogmatists.

6. Re-organize the National leadership to work as a team in order to carry out the 16th National Convention principles.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN spoke and referring to DENNIS' report said we "are punchy" with words. STEIN added that what he wants to see is a Party of 12,000 members who are able to discuss points with others and a Party to carry out what the National Convention intended. That is to discuss a way to Socialism. Eventually bring forth a United Party of Socialism.

He said that the majority of the National Committee were willing to take steps on the California document, adding that the difficulties can be overcome, not easily but it can be done. STEIN stated further that in his opinion a smaller Party would be isolated but at least it would be maintained for a time.

He said that "we" do not want a section of leadership who do not agree with the National Convention. STEIN stated that he has asked Comrade DENNIS for weeks what he has, to put it on paper and let us see it. STEIN stated that the greatest dis-service that can be done to the Party is to talk in nebulous terms. He said that people have lost

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confidence in us and some of them are thinking of leaving and joining something else. He added that they are not revisionists. He added that confidence in himself and DENNIS and so forth is not the same as confidence in the Party. He commented that what threatens the Party at the moment is Revisionism.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stated that at the last National Committee meeting it was decided to appoint a Sub-committee. He added that the way the sub-committee was set up convinced him that some comrades want war not peace, adding that when they returned to their districts, the sub-committee was torpedoed. We were accused of being afraid. Yes comrades I am afraid for our Party. I am concerned about the thing we have devoted most our adult life to.

~~X~~ LIGHTFOOT commented that there does not appear to be a mature leadership and he rejected the inference made by GENE (DENNIS) and SID (STEIN). LIGHTFOOT said that to reverse the convention is not easy and that they need a new convention in order to do it. We have a constitution we are going to live by - it says any major policy decision must go to the membership. He stated that to say that the main danger is left sectarianism is a conclusion of the convention. We cannot say it is revisionism and we cannot change it without a convention. This document is not ambiguous, it states we have not overcome sectarianism to the extent that we can elevate revisionism to be the main danger.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT commented that (JOHN) GATES is out of the Party, and so are many others. Let us worry about the present membership.

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We have almost absolute isolation from the masses. He said it was getting to a point where if anyone says anything he is a revisionist. In California they call [redacted] a revisionist. In Chicago they say he is "left".

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Informant reported that an unidentified female interrupted LIGHTFOOT by stating that NY calls him [redacted] revisionist.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT stated that they should try to meet halfway.

Informant reported that LIGHTFOOT apparently directed his comments to GENE (DENNIS) and referred to DENNIS' marking of the document.

~~X~~ LIGHTFOOT said that he could not understand GENE'S objection. Continuing, LIGHTFOOT stated that if you comrades of the NEC cannot bend over a little to meet this problem you do not want unity and you do not want CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

He stated that history has a way of catching up with this leadership, adding that in "48 (1948) they caught up with us and it took them to "52" (1952) to find us. I do not consider the convention a bible. We will not exist if we toss overboard the only basis I see in the Party for unity.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, then asked a question on procedure. "Do we go into the content of the document now or should we vote on placing it before the National Committee."

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Unknown Male (Possibly MICKIE LIMA)

An individual believed to be LIMA stated that there is a danger of becoming lost in layers of words and discussions. There has been no talk here to show me that there should be a change made. The unity of our Party will be achieved on a basis of understanding and applying our theories to the American scene.

This document is an amalgamation of contrary viewpoints.. I think the California document places the issues facing the Party more squarely on the line. It is positively clear in stating the problem. I do not believe in the co-existence of many trends and on the other hand you cannot say that one trend is all good and another is all bad. I was never a part of any (JOHN) GATES trend.

~~8~~ The convention I thought set up the predominant trend of the Party. Now there is a move to push the trend the other way. There is too much dogmatism in the Party today. We must realize there is no eternal law. The laws of Marxism-Leninism are not eternal. We have got to change when change is necessary. I have been trying to think this thing out in my own way. I have been labeled a "revisionist." I warmly endorsed the Hungarian Government. I have a high regard for internationalism and particularly the role of the Soviet Union.

Unidentified Male Believed to be GEORGE MEYERS

The fundamental problems facing us is that of applying the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the American scene and the failure to lead the Party in mass work. I find I cannot move

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the Party in my district in any mass way due to the kind of discussion going on in the Party.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, then stated that he is opposed to the idea that a danger exists in working with the Socialist groups. This individual stated that part of the right danger lies in a divided trade union movement, the question of the Negro People's Movement and a lack of grasping on to the opportunity.

This individual stated that he believed that the American capitalism has changed toward the labor unions and socialistic trends. He said that the word or phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a phrase the average person in America cannot understand, but that "peaceful transition" is a better phrase and should be used. He said that to talk about the situation in the Soviet Union and Stalin is like walking on eggs. He said that following the convention word spread around that I was anti-semitic because of a certain resolution submitted at the convention. I labeled it all as reactionary, while deploring the situation in the Soviet Union around the killing of those Jewish people. This individual ended his talk by stating that he did not believe that this is a reason for leaving the American Communist Party.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY then asked how much longer they would continue and what they should accomplish at this meeting.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that both reports should be presented to the National Committee the following day.

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Informant reported that there was much discussion for and against CARL'S (WINTER) and CLAUDE'S (LIGHTFOOT) document. It was proposed that a vote be taken on both documents and the document receiving the most votes be reported to the National Committee.

Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated that he was against this procedure, as the document getting the most votes will be characterized as being the document sponsored by the NEC, which is not the case. This unknown male proposed that a vote be taken and the document receiving the least number of votes will be reported as a minority report.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

~~X~~ [REDACTED] argued that a vote should be taken now, but wants points of both documents incorporated into the discussion so that what the majority of the NEC wants is actually the basis of discussion.

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Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

HEALEY spoke and argued in favor of CLAUDE'S report but said that points of each which are in agreement to all members of the NEC should be presented to the Committee (National Committee). She added that she is not in agreement with all the points of CLAUDE'S report, but remarks that she considers it significant that CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and CARL (WINTER), two persons with different points of view are able to get together and put out a report. She said this should serve as an example to the meeting.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown

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to the informant, stated that the line of approach in one of the documents represents the majority in the NEC, while the line of approach in the second document represents the line of approach in the NAC. This individual stated that both documents will have to be presented. He recommended that the NEC vote on the documents and the results reported to the National Committee, in order that the National Committee will know the thinking of the NEC regarding these documents.

Remarks of GENE DENNIS

DENNIS proposed that a vote be taken as to whether both documents will be presented to the National Committee.

Informant reported that there was much discussion as to the procedure regarding these documents, and that SID STEIN stated that the trouble is that everyone present, no matter how sanctimonious, is fighting for his own position and these documents will only continue the struggle in a different way.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be JIM JACKSON

JACKSON stated that the discussion is dragging on hopelessly and that the committee cannot even agree on a simple question of procedure without a 3 to 4 hour discussion. He proposed that they adjourn for dinner. He also proposed that a vote from the floor on both documents be taken with the understanding that neither document be designated as the one in favor by the NEC or the position of the NEC.

Remarks of SID STEIN

STEIN stated that he agrees with the document being a basis for discussion with minor changes.

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Remarks of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY:

- (U) CHARNEY suggested that they have a report of the Sub-committee in which the document approved by 2 members of the sub-committee, is presented as a basis for discussion. He added that you have a document of the third member of the sub-committee which is offered as a substitute and you have SID'S (STEIN) view with this document as a basis for discussion, with some amendments. He recommended that they present it in that manner. ~~X~~

Remarks of SID STEIN

- (U) STEIN stated that CARL (WINTER) will present the document as the work of the two comrades of the sub-committee (WINTER and LIGHTFOOT). GENE (DENNIS) will present his own document because he cannot go along with this one. I support the document although I have some amendments. ~~X~~

- (U) Informant reported that the chairman took a voice vote and there was no opposition to this motion of STEIN'S. ~~X~~

Informant reported that following this there was some general discussion and the meeting adjourned.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C 40) DATE: 3/17/58

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (7)

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SUBJECT: CP USA
BRONX COUNTY
IS - C

Identity of Source [REDACTED] who has furnished
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info 2/12/58

Date Received 2/24/58

Received by SA [REDACTED] (7)

Original Located [REDACTED]

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1 - [REDACTED] (7) (INVEST.)

1 - NY 100-55159 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-4137 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-133178 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-128796 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-69941 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-13447 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 105-18272 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-89179 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-83378 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-120473 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-106964 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-133346 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-25821 (CHARLES HENDLEY) (12-10)

1 - NY 100-111936 [REDACTED] (12-10)

1 - NY 100-132945 [REDACTED] (12-10)

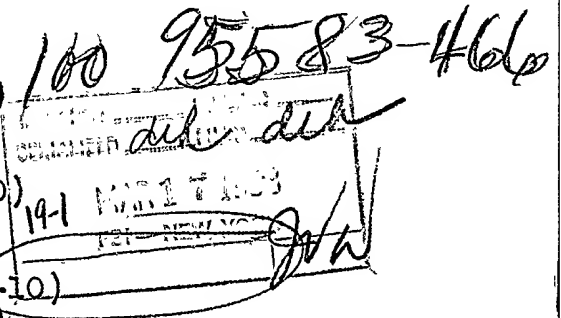
1 - NY 100-133788 [REDACTED] (12-10)

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COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

1 - NY 100-26603-C 40) (12-10)

JPH:mtt
(29)



NY 100-26603-C 40

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 2/19/58, [redacted] furnished info concerning a Bronx Co. CP membership meeting held 2/12/58.

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A copy of the informant's report is attached herewith.

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY 100-62281 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-12481 [redacted] (19-2)
1 - NY 100-87211 (CP Factionalism) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-102697 (COMINFIL into Mass Organizations) (7-2)
1 - NY 105-6844 (B'nai Brith) (6)
1 - NY 100-95583 (CP Line) (19-1)
1 - NY 97-169 (Worker) (7-2)
1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP Membership) (19-1)
1 - NY 100-107444 [redacted] (12-10)
1 - NY 100-26603 (CP USA - NY Division) (19-2)

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COPY

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.
Activities

Feb. 19, 1958
New York

A Bronx County Communist Party membership meeting was held on February 12th, 1958 at the New Terrace Gardens in the Bronx, N.Y.

About 60 people were present at this meeting.

I saw at the meeting [redacted]
[redacted] (member of the Bronx County Comm. C.P.)
[redacted] and his wife, [redacted]
and her husband, [redacted] (from the Allerton
Section C.P.), [redacted] (member B.C.C.C.P.), Charles Hendley,
[redacted] - maiden name), [redacted] and
[redacted].

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[redacted] (member B.C.C.C.P.) [redacted] the meeting.

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The main speaker was [redacted] In his speech [redacted] discussed mainly 2 points. One pointed was that "the membership demands to stop the discussion of the ideological differences within the Party and start doing something." Point two - "Communist party work in the right-wing mass organizations."

On the question of "ideological differences" [redacted] spoke at length. He said that everyone in the party agrees that it would be "just fine" to stop these "endless discussions and get set to do some real work. But here is where the trouble comes in. To start to do some real work we need a program and when the question of a program comes up all ideological differences begin projecting themselves. And this, i believe, is the reason why one year after our national convention we still haven got a working program." He agreed that the "prolongation of this state of affairs in the party has a murderous effect on the activities of our members but it seems to me, that

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nothing can be done until we will some how hammer out these differences. Don't ask me when and how but I know, I am sure that as a Marxist-Leninist party we will find our way and will come out stronger than ever; history is with us and history assigned to us the task of leading our people into socialism."

He spoke about the mistakes we made "by isolating ourselves from the masses of the people." He underlined that the C.P.'s task is to lead the people "but if we isolate ourselves from the people we have no one to lead." Here he spoke on the importance of working in the "peoples mass organizations." He brought out the point that "a communist in a right-wing mass organization must work as a communist. I don't mean to say that one has to get the floor and tell the people - 'I am a communist!'" What I mean is that a communist in a right-wing mass organization should project left-wing ideas and push the organization to the left." He said that the communists don't have to "take over the organization but they must not become subservant to the ideology of this organization. If you work in the Bnai Brith and you just perform the functions of a Bnai Brith member your function there as a Communist becomes useless. On the other end if you work in the Bnai Brith frame work as a Communist projecting left wing ideas you have a right to consider that you do a good job for the Bnai Brith and you do your duty to the party."

He spoke about organizing in the neighborhood's peace committees; about joining up such committees if they are existing. to "project the ideas of peace, co-existence and atoms for peacefull purposes in such organizations as P.T. and especially among the working class population in the neighborhoods."

[redacted] (Allerton section) proposed the issuing of leaflets on peace and co-existence in the name of the Bronx County C.P. This proposal was approved by the meeting. [redacted] accused the right-wingers in the party (C.P.) for "all our troubles. I want you to

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know that the Daily Worker had to close up because tricks of such people as John Gates."

A worker from the East Bronx (no names of the speakers were announced) said that he works in tenement organizations for "quite a few years" and he "fully agrees with [redacted] that when you work in a mass organization you got to work as a communist. Otherwise what is the use to waist your time?"

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[redacted] disagreed with [redacted] she claimed that "no one has a right to come into an organization which is doing important work in the community and pull this organization here and there against the will of the members. This kind of work only serves a disruptive purpose."

Charles Hendley called for an educational campaign among party members on "all levels." He said: "To be an effective Communist one must have a good knowledge of Marxism-Leninism." He blamed the lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism for the present ideological differences.

Ida agreed with [redacted] on Communist work in right-wing mass organization. He also made a "short report" on the registration in the Bronx: "All I can report is that up till today we registered 200 members. In 1956 we registered over 1,000. What are we going to do about the registration?"

[redacted] reported that the Bronx County (C.P.) pledged to the state (Comm. C.P.) a minimum of 700 subs in the sub campaign for the worker. He also told the meeting that "we must continue to raise funds for our paper. The County allready turned over to the Worker \$4,000 but most of this money we owe - we didn't raised it; we borrowed it." He also reported that a "Permanent Press Committee is now being organized. [redacted] and Patterson (Wm) submitted to the state (Comm. C.P.) a program of activities in connection with the press. I think we will have a good working press Committee."

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A suggestion from the floor in the form of a resolution was adopted by the meeting instructing the County Committee to establish "work shops for party members who are engaged in mass work." Meetings of these "work shops" should be held once a month for the purpose of exchanging experiences on work in mass organizations.

The meeting came to an end after the chairlady announced the Elizabeth Flynn reception which will be held on February 22nd. She asked everyone present here to come to this reception.

J. MORRIS

4-3

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 3/27/58

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND
REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY
NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY
OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

2-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
2-Cleveland (RM)
 (1-100-) (HY LUMER)
1-New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
1-New York (100-27452) () (19-1)
1-New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
1-New York (100-32826) ()
1-New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)
1-New York (100-89590) (CPUSA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (19-1)
1-New York (100-87211) (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM) (19-1)
1-New York (100-97167) (POLITICAL OFFICES)
1-New York (100-47142) (MAY DAY) (7-2)
1-New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (7-2)
1-New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (12-15)
1-New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (7-2)
1-New York (100-) ()
1-New York (100-95583) (CPUSA - LINE) (19-1)
1-New York (100-81675) (PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATION) (19-1)
1-New York (100-86624) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1-New York (100-80641)

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100-95583-467

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APR 1 1958	
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100-95583-467

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NY 100-80641

On 3/4/58, NY 2010-S* advised that on above date [] advised JACK (STACHEL) that the agenda for the meeting tomorrow (NEC) will be:

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1. May Day:
2. Business left over from the previous week.
3. New Jersey
4. Foreign aid.

On 3/5/58, NY 2179-S* advised that the NEC CP, USA meeting was held on the above date in the third floor board room, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC.

The following individuals were believed by informant to be in attendance:

JACK STACHEL

[]

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

JIM ALLEN

HY LUMER

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

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REMARKS OF []

The informant advised that [] opened the meeting by stating that a report has been given to (or by) the New York Staff on the situation in garment. He suggested that they should attend the staff meeting. (Informant believed that [] is referring to the strike in the Garment Industry).

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INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO BE JIM ALLEN

ALLEN stated that he wanted to speak on a number of questions of outstanding importance, stating the first question is the Summit meeting and commented that the morning papers indicate that DULLES (JOHN FOSTER DULLES) has been definitely rejected. He commented that DULLES' line of policy is to back down on every possible point.

ALLEN indicated that there was no popular support for a Summit meeting, and that there was no popular mass pressure to compel a Summit meeting.

Continuing, ALLEN remarked that as the number of jobless grow and as the crisis becomes worse you are going to hear less and less about the need for weapons and more and more a demand for Government measures --- various welfare measures in order to shift the burden of crisis off the workers. He commented that increased steps for welfare planning at the expense of the military budget can only be accomplished through a successful Summit meeting.

Continuing, ALLEN also referred to the Tunisian - French crisis, stating that in his opinion this is the first move towards political intervention in North Africa by the Imperialists. He commented that this movement into Tunisia, the Middle East and North Africa has broad potentials? in which to set up some kind of a pattern --- of a new phase against a global? peace.

Continuing, informant advised that ALLEN also spoke concerning the Latin American economy and referred to the increased activity of American capital within the last several years in Latin American affairs. In concluding, ALLEN indicated that perhaps the Foreign Affairs Committee might be reconstituted.

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REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke and said that the Party should have a Foreign ^{Affairs} Committee. He also commented on the need for a Summit Conference and the need for a strong movement in this regard. He recommended that JIM's (ALIEN) report should be written up and sent to the National Committee.

INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO BE HY LUMER

Individual believed by informant to be HY LUMER spoke and said that in his opinion the emphasis on military spending has not changed and indicated that the criticism of the Eisenhower Administration is for not spending more money (armaments), accompanied by a drive for a public works program to ^{check} the mounting unemployment situation.

Continuing, LUMER stated that he believed that the Democratic (Party) position and the labor position is for more spending. He commented that the leading Democrats are trying to outdo the administration and make a central charge against the administration that it failed in (not?) keeping up with the Soviet Union armament race --- speaking in terms of the importance of Sputnik. He said that he believed the impact of the economic crisis does create a much more favorable opportunity generally in the country and specifically in the Labor Movement for linking up the program to defeat the crisis with the demand for a mass program.

Continuing, LUMER commented that in his opinion one of the most important functions coming up is the AFL-CIO Economic Conference in Washington, D.C., which he said is going to be a massive conference

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attended by top trade union leaders. LUMER then indicated that Latin America is beginning to enter more actively into the world picture in the role of resisting American (help?).

Informant further advised that LUMER then discussed an article (not identified) saying that he thought there could be articles which on occasion do not agree with the line of the Party. He said that it should be made clear that such articles present a point of view other than the line of the party, and they are not on equal status with the line of the party.

UNKNOWN MALE

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and said that he was all for counteracting any impression in the membership that "we" are going to return to Bureaucratic methods of work and ^{that} we are not going to permit a consequent inspection of issues of the problems of the day. The informant advised that this individual then referred to the publishing of this article in "Political Affairs."

REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated in referring to "Political Affairs" that the issue of whether it ("Political Affairs") will be the official organ of the CP has not been settled.

Continuing informant advised that BEN DAVIS spoke, but the informant was not in a position to determine his comments, however, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated that "we" accept BEN's (DAVIS) remarks

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and indicated that action should be deferred until they have a full board (NEC). She indicated that efforts should be made to obtain a hall, but they would leave open the question of broadening the sponsorship. (Informant believed that FLYNN is referring to a May Day celebration.)

UNKNOWN MALE

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant proposed that there be a rally for "The Worker".

REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated "they" said they would do it for "The Worker". He agreed that without much effort, it is conceivable that \$5,000 can be raised. He said that he had spoken to PAT (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) yesterday and indicated that the money would have to be raised primarily in NY, collecting from workers in shops, groups of workers and organizations. He stated that he would suggest that they set up a committee of three "comrades", mentioning ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN), GEORGE (MORRIS) and JOE GORDON. He indicated ELIZABETH (FLYNN) would be responsible for getting out a leaflet.

REMARKS OF BEN DAVIS

DAVIS commented that steps had been taken to get a hall regarding a May Day celebration. He said "they" did not want to "blot out" any consideration on the United Front May Day, which he indicated would be broader than any "we" had in the past. He said that comrades are hungry for this type of May Day; this kind of association with "broad forces". He indicated

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that there must be a joint policy approach on the part of the leadership.

Informant speculated that DAVIS is referring to a May Day celebration, which would include other left wing forces. in some kind of united action, but that action is being deferred until the full NEC meeting.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128809) (19-2) DATE: 4/3/58
 FROM: SA DANIEL F. GARDE (19)
 SUBJECT: CPUSA - NY DISTRICT - STRATEGY
 IN INDUSTRY
 IS-C

UTMOST CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE REPORTING OF OR ANY OTHER USE OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NY 2179-S* SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 1 - NY (100-89590) (CPUSA - Strategy In Industry) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-47514) (Cominfil-ILGWU) (7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-132430) (CPUSA - NY District - Industrial Division) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-50094) () (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) (CPUSA - Organization) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-128814) (CPUSA - NY District - Organization) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-80640) (CPUSA - Negro Question) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-128815) (CPUSA - NY District - Negro Question) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-54651) (CPUSA - National Groups) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-128816) (CPUSA - NY District-National Groups) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-95583) (CPUSA - Line) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C 40) (CPUSA - Bronx) (12-10)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C 41) (CPUSA - Queens) (12-13)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C 42) (CPUSA - NY County) (12-15)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C 43) (CPUSA - Kings County) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C 1892) (CPUSA - Harlem) (12-15)
- 1 - NY (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-52959) () (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-92572) () (12-14)
- 1 - NY (100-13527) () (12-13)
- 1 - NY (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BEN J. DAVIS, JR.) (19-1)

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100-95583-468

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APR 4 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-128809

NY 2179-S* advised on 3/4/58, that during a New York State Staff Meeting held in the Second Floor Board Room at CP Headquarters on that date, WILLIAM WEINSTONE expressed the view that the Party should play a role, ideologically, in the impending strike of the dressmakers. He stated that there is often a tendency to call a demonstration strike, then call it off; that he feels there is in this situation a basis for a strike of some endurance and struggle because the conditions are pretty bad. He suggested that the Party, in addition to lending general support, should also be helpful during the strike in "reflecting the states of mind of the workers" by placing emphasis on certain things of interest.

A further discussion was held regarding plans for the Party's activity in connection with the strike during which BEN DAVIS and others, whose identities were not known for certain to the informant, (possibly [redacted] and BILL ALBERTSON), exchanged views on efforts that should be made by the Party in Harlem among Negro & Puerto Rican workers in connection with the strike.

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The following information furnished by NY [redacted] on 3/5/58, is being set forth in order to disseminate information that has been furnished to the Bureau by airtel under the above caption on 3/7/58. In addition to the information appearing in the airtel, it is to be noted that the informant furnished information indicating that [redacted] was among those present at the meeting on 3/5/58.

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- 1 - NY (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-26776) (CHARLES DIRBA) (12-15)
- 1 - NY (100-88013) ([redacted]) (12-13)
- 1 - NY (100-67234) ([redacted]) (12-16)
- 1 - NY (100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-117158) (DANIEL RUBEL) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-99369) ([redacted]) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON)
- 1 - NY (100-128809) (19-2)

NY 100-128809

On 3/5/58, NY 2179-S* advised that a meeting of local county organizers of the New York State CP was held on that date starting at 2:30 p. m. in the Second Floor Board Room at CP Headquarters, NYC. The stated purpose of the meeting was to hear a report by [redacted] on the dress industry strike, and to discuss it with the National Executive Committee which had been summoned to the meeting from another room, at CP Headquarters where they had been engaged in another meeting, in order to determine action to be taken by the Party.

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[redacted] a member of the New York State Board, gave the main report. It dealt with the strike of the garment workers which began at 10:00 a. m. 3/5/58, and with the rally held by the strikers at Madison Square

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Garden, NYC. [] described the rally as impressive; stated that the garden was packed and that, according to GEORGE MORRIS, there were 10,000 people outside the building. [] was inside. Eighty per cent of the workers were women, and sixty per cent were of Italian-American extraction. A significant feature was the objections of the Negro and Puerto Rican youth shipping clerks.

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[] outlined the basic reasons behind the strike, the demands of the unions, and the position of the employers. She asserted that despite predictions that the strike would probably end on Monday, it was her feeling that even if the strike is of short duration in NYC, it will be very protracted outside the city. The militant aspect in out of town areas is very high, and they are demanding a change.

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[] then stated, in effect, as follows:

The role of our Party in industry is not an easy one - many of these people have had no strike experience; have no real leaders. This is not significant in the market (garment district in NYC), but in the outlying areas, it is a problem.

Our peoples' services were politely declined. They filled out the cards, but weren't called-- although they do get on picket committees-- they do represent (?) a lot of shop chairmen. They may cover 20 to 30 shops. We have a tactical approach

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to contact other shops --- we must use the influence approach --- all our people are involved --- they have reason to be involved and they can then talk all day long. There are many ways to influence - - - in front of the building they can talk to many and urge sticking to the union demands at settlement. We will have to be careful; we do not want to get subscriptions (for "The Worker") while on the picket line. We can make contacts on the picket line; we can get names and addresses; we can go to the homes of the workers. The number of contacts will be tremendous.

We need two different types of picketing approach. In Manhattan we use the shops and the streets; in the Bronx and Brooklyn, and in outlying areas, we need two people outside of the picket headquarters (in those areas) to sell the paper. In Harlem and Lower Harlem, we can force the unions to organize. We can call (union headquarters) about shops found to be working, and about trucks observed making deliveries. By continual calling, pressure is created. Coverage with the paper will be a powerful instrument. Most of our people will make contacts in front of the building. They (management) have not been prepared to integrate our people, but they are scared of the workers. I want to direct our attention to the work to be done in less than 12 hours. - - - We can't discuss our ties with the Negro and Puerto Rican people without taking a stand on this problem.

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Following the giving of her report, when asked when and how one could predict the duration of the strike, [] replied that "it is not up to us to tell how long it will last - - we must just be involved. If we just stand in the building and say (to the strikers) 'this is what we have to gain' - - - a militant attitude arises."

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[] asserted that the paper ("The Worker") "is the key for us".

An unidentified male, believed to be possibly JACK STACHEL, then asserted that the Party must join in the feeling of the strikers; make contacts; and mobilize people around the paper as a good basis for the Party's action program.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON declared that the strike situation would have an impact on many people all over the country and recommended wide distribution of "The Worker". He suggested a dramatic four page special feature in cartoon form showing the events leading up to the strike. He announced that he had arranged for the paper to be available to be picked up by the shop at 3:00 a.m.

A male speaker, whose identity was unknown to the informant, (possibly []), stated that this is the greatest demonstration in the city's history; provides a test of "our people" and may be an inspiration to others.

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Another male speaker, whose identity was unknown to the informant, (possibly [redacted]), stated that his particular interest is in the shipping clerks who have never been included in any of the previous settlements.

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WILLIAM WEINSTONE suggested organizing "a task force", mobilizing as many people as possible to distribute the paper and thereby get these people active. He pointed out that the unorganized shops in Queens are mostly in Jamaica and Flushing. He suggested personal contact (presumably at these locations).

[redacted] asserted that the immediate problem is this week's paper ("The Worker"). The paper can be picked up at Milo Press. She felt that WILL'S (WEINSTONE'S) idea of a task force was excellent, but "not in the cards". She suggested putting people in "our own shops" to counsel their shop committees, not go out on their own. She stated that the primary approach should be to have people present at various spots with copies of the paper, and to avoid any fights or controversies, moving away if requested to do so realizing that one can always come back later.

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[redacted] then outlined what should be done in the several boroughs. She suggested that strike headquarters be covered in Brooklyn, listing the locations of a number of such headquarters in various sections of that borough. She suggested that Brooklyn take 1500 papers.

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She stated that as to Queens, Long Island is considered out of town, and no headquarters were announced. Inquiries should be made by calling union headquarters and asking where to go to join the strike. She suggested taking 300 papers to Queens. (After considerable discussion, an unidentified man agreed to pick up 200 papers for Queens). As to Manhattan, she stated, the fight here is urgent for the Party's legitimacy. There will be a meeting of the industrial group here (at CP Headquarters) at 8:00 a.m. on 3/6/58. There are three picket shifts in the garment area in Manhattan, each shop being responsible for getting their pickets in the front of the shops. Pickets in outlying areas such as Brooklyn and the Bronx are dispatched from a central headquarters in those areas. Efforts should be made to cover the market, not the subways, and to try to stay away from strike headquarters. "We" will cover twenty five different corners. "We" will let the paper speak for itself.

[] recommended ordering 1500 papers (for Manhattan), but a discussion ensued regarding the advisability of ordering so large a number. It did not appear that any decision was arrived at in this matter.

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Fisur disclosed that between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m. on 3/6/58, CHARLES DIRBA, [] and JACK SHULMAN entered CP Headquarters, and departed shortly thereafter carrying literature, and proceeded toward the garment district in NYC, where they have not subsequently been observed.

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NY 2010-S* advised on 3/6/58, that shortly after 10:30 a.m. on that date, [redacted] conferred with [redacted] and JACK (SHULMAN) regarding the picking up of extra copies of "The Worker" this morning, and their distribution to people in the street. The SHULMANS indicated that arrangements for picking up the papers had been poor and they were unable to get as many copies as had been promised. The SHULMANS revealed that they had been unable to sell any of the papers, but were enthusiastic about the results obtained by giving the papers away, JACK claiming that he distributed 300 in a short time. JACK suggested proposing an extra 1000 reprints be run off for distribution tomorrow (3/7/58), claiming that the cost will be only \$16.00.

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NY 2125-S* advised on 3/6/58, that shortly after 3:00 p.m. on that date, DANNY RUBEL, Organizational Secretary in Kings County, Brooklyn, made arrangements to have the CP members distribute papers tomorrow (3/7/58) in the vicinity of Central Headquarters of the union in the Borough Park area of Brooklyn. He felt that this would be very effective in connection with the current strike in the garment industry.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

To : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

Date: 4/24/58

From : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

Subject: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMA-
TION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND
SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-88) (CP, USA-FACTIONALISM)
 - (1 - 100-3-104) (CP, USA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
- 2 - Baltimore (100-) (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 1 - Buffalo (100-) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (100-) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (MIKE RUSSO)
- 5 - Chicago (100-18953) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - A) 134-46)
 - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1 - 100-) (GERALDINE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
- 4 - Cleveland (100-) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (HY LUMER)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100-) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (100-2050) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Indianapolis (100-) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (MANNY BLUM)
- 4 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (CPUSA-ORG) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (PETTIS PERRY)
 - (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100-) (BILL SENNETT)

(Copies Cont'd on Page 1a)

1 - New York (100-80641)

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Copies Cont'd

1 - Minneapolis (100-1878P)(CPUSA-ORG)(RM)
1 - Milwaukee (100-) (CPUSA-ORG)(RM)
1 - Newark (100-) (CPUSA-ORG)(RM)
4 - San Francisco (100-27747)(CPUSA-ORG)(RM)
 (1 - 65-1242)(MICKEY LIMA)
 (1 - 100-) (HOLLAND ROBERTS)
 (1 - 100-) (AL RICHMOND)
2 - Seattle (100-) (CPUSA-ORG)(RM)
 (1 - 100-) (BERT NELSON)
1 - New York 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)(12-14)
1 - New York 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
1 - New York 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)(12-16)
1 - New York 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)
1 - New York 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)(19-1)
1 - New York 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(7-1)
1 - New York 100-89590 (CPUSA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-87211 (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-80638 (CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON)(19-2)
1 - New York 100-27452 () (19-1)
1 - New York 100-25857 (PAUL ROBESON, SR.)(12-15)
1 - New York 100-86624 (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-80640 (CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION)
1 - New York 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-24616 () (19-1)
1 - New York 100-80636 (CPUSA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)(19-1)
① - New York 100-95583 (CPUSA - LINE)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-79717 (CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-80864 (CPUSA - RELIGION)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-34632 (WATERFRONT SECTION)
1 - New York 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)(19-2)
1 - New York 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(19-1)
1 - New York 100-86971 ()
1 - New York 100-13336 () (19-2)
1 - New York 100-129802 (CPUSA - COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)(19-
1 - New York 100-105078 (HY LUMER) 0)
1 - New York 100-52959 () (19-1)
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NY 100-80641

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC), CP-USA, held in New York City on March 28 and 29, 1958, as reported by NY 2179-S*.

A surveillance of CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, by SAS of the FBI determined that the following individuals were observed entering CP Headquarters on above dates and were believed in attendance at the meeting:

EUGENE DENNIS (NEC)
BILL ALBERTSON
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
[REDACTED] (NEC)
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT (N G)
JAMES E. JACKSON (NEC)
MICKEY LIMA (NEC)
ARNOLD JOHNSON
BENJAMIN DAVIS (NEC)

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN (NEC)
GEORGE MEYERS (NEC)
HY LUMER (NEC)
JACK STACHEL (NEC)
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK (NEC)
PAUL ROBESON, JR.
GEORGE MORRIS
CARL WINTER (NC)

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Informant reported that EUGENE DENNIS acted as Chairman of the meeting.

Copies Cont'd

- 1 - New York 100-81495 (HARRY HAYWOOD) (12-16)
- 1 - New York 100-131666 (CPUSA - SOUTHERN REGION) (19-1)
- 1 - New York 100-32826 (JIM ALLEN) (7-1)
- 1 - New York 100-80532 (HERB APTHEKER) (20-11)
- 1 - New York 100-13473 (SI GERSON) (19-1)
- 1 - New York 100-20128 (ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN)
- 1 - New York 100-26603-C169 (CPUSA - DISTRICT #2, LOWER HARLEM)

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

"We" invited CARL WINTER, GEORGE (MORRIS), ARNOLD (JOHNSON), and PAUL (ROBESON, JR.). DENNIS commented that GEORGE MORRIS is the personal representative from the AFL-CIO Conference.

"We" would like to take up during the day the report by BEN (DAVIS), dealing with PAUL ROBESON's book and then the question of his passport to Russia. Next a report by MICKY (LIMA) on the result of the California elections. A report on "The Worker," progress report on auto and personal matters.

"We" will open tomorrow's session with the AFL-CIO conference report, a review of housing and slums, and important discussion on the "ultra-left" and their activities, a report and discussion on State and National registration. That briefly is the schedule.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

GENE (DENNIS) "I" want to say something concerning the question of recognition. BILL ALBERTSON is State Secretary of the Party in New York. "I" have a feeling he (ALBERTSON?) would like to see you.

Remarks of

As far as the inviting was concerned, the reason "we" did not invite BILL (ALBERTSON) was that "we" did not realize his status with the State.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

Comrades "I" want to take up the question concerning ROBESON and this is a good time to do it as ROBESON's birthday is April 9. "I" want to comment a little bit on how this event is being run. "We" asked Comrade PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) to come because he has been associated intimately with various aspects of PAUL's (PAUL ROBESON, SR.) activity.

"We" are dealing here with one of the great figures of the world. "I" have written the review of his book as a commentary on the tremendous political significance of his writing this book and the impact it has today on the national community. "I" will not go into that. "I" will leave that to the columnists.

Secondly there is the right for PAUL (ROBESON) to travel, that is his passport difficulties which is a real danger and threat. It was defended in today's "New York Times." This is the Party's fight.

The third aspect of PAUL's activity is the question of his concert tour. We have to take note that PAUL has resumed his career which of course is located primarily on the West Coast, where the Negro people, the progressive labor forces, and the Party forces have done a magnificent job. We have to consider this the very necessary, a very vital part of PAUL's relationship with the American people.

The fourth aspect which you might be interested in, one which "I" gave prime attention, was the book, this book which "I" call "Here I Stand." Now this book is getting a tremendous reception here and internationally? The book itself is a fine document, a documentary, a brilliant piece of writing and application of Marxism on the part of PAUL that is fearless.

Now in my opinion all these aspects come to a head around PAUL's birthday. In various parts of the country they are sending birthday greetings, holding birthday celebrations, in fact, PAUL is going to be in Chicago on his birthday where "I" think there will be a tremendous gathering marking his birthday. Just recently in the "New York Times," the March 21 issue, there was a story concerning the marking of PAUL's birthday by 400 people in India, the second largest nation in the world. Now that country (India) is going to have a nation-wide celebration of PAUL's birthday.

The celebration of his birthday is not only the tribute to an individual but to a cause. This is an excerpt from Nehru's Statement as published in the "New York Times."

Now "my" opinion of Nehru's Statement is that it is just one of the biggest developments in the whole movement internationally around the struggle for Negro rights, around ROBESON, and represents a distinct slap in the face to the State Department.

With respect to the book, I think all the comrades have seen the book and I am not going to ask how many have read it, I do not want to put anybody on the spot. Actually it is not necessary to review the book here, but "I" would like to show the impact this book has had on the Negro people. "I" think this constitutes a new stage to the development of the old Negro people's movement and certainly constitutes a new stage with respect to ROBESON. The Baltimore "Afro-American" is serializing the first two chapters. They have had several editorials on it. Their book reviewer, who is not of ROBESON's convictions nor of the CP, has written a most glowing review of this book.

We have a very brief but very important commentary that was published in "The Worker" as of March 16, where a group of testimonials were given by a number of Negro people and a number of whites. "I" just want to read a few excerpts from the review of the book given by [redacted] (ph.), who is an author himself, one of the outstanding Negro lecturers, who was sent by the State Department to India to play the part of publishing the position of the Negro people in America. He came back and wrote a book on his experiences. He points out that no matter where he goes the people of India wanted to know what happened to PAUL ROBESON and why PAUL ROBESON does not come back to India.

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PAUL ROBESON is a member of a family that goes back four generations, that has been here 200 years. It is a tradition that is as vital to him as it was in his great great grandfather.

You might want to know that the "Afro-American" is the most widely circulated of all Negro papers. Now here is what "The Crusader," the Chicago Negro weekly, says:

We here at the Negro Crusader have been vitally interested because we have felt all along that the great athlete, singer, lawyer, as well as freedom fighter has been cruelly maligned because he would not bend down to the white folks. ROBESON's great error has been that he ? was called a Communist and Russian lover without defending himself or answering those who accused him. He was flogged. Instead, PAUL ROBESON has been the mightiest of all Negro voices and when his friendship for the Soviets came under fire by the Dies Committee, the Un-American Activities Committee in Congress, the personal issue went so far that his marvelous achievement of becoming one of [redacted] [redacted]'s all-time, all-American football players was dropped by most newspapers. This was all forgotten except by "The Crusader," "Amsterdam News," and the "Afro-American," who joined with white papers to celebrate this great event. Other Negro editors scared that Washington might send the FBI to check on them, took to their heels whenever the name of ROBESON was mentioned. The truth is, as ROBESON points out in his book, I have never been involved in national ... of any kind and do not know anybody who is. He said this all under oath in 1946 in California; that he is not a member of the CP. Our [redacted] is that ROBESON has not defended himself at a time when his race needs the leadership he represents. The white folks are scared of his leadership.

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According to the informant, DAVIS finished reading the review from the Chicago "Crusader."

Continuing, DAVIS remarked that this shows the impact which this book has had throughout the country.

According to the informant BEN DAVIS also read several testimonials from throughout the country concerning ROBESON's book. DAVIS commented that the only adverse criticism came from a review in the "Partisan" (ph.). They said that Mr. ROBESON is naive and unaware of present day ideologies.

"I" think the book tends to become a national document, a national manifesto, a national statement. The book is primarily addressed to the Negro people. "I" understand that the Chicago district is trying to handle 3,000 copies and I hope that others will set themselves a high goal, "we" want possibly to handle 5,000 copies in New York. With respect to New York "we" have a special job to do. There is a nationally organized PAUL ROBESON movement with a national committee in Britain that has organized around the right of PAUL ROBESON to come to Britain. On the book we should try to eventually publish 100,000 copies for distribution in America. Of the total number of books distributed so far, two-thirds have been distributed by independent leaders, the other one-third by New Century Publishers.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

It is my opinion that two things have occurred during recent months. One is the dissatisfaction with supporters of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The slowness with which they have unfolded the segregation program in the South, coupled with the outbreak of a economic crisis. Anybody who thinks there is no connection with Negro rights and the economic crisis is foolish. They realize that their banks are going to fail, their insurance companies are going to fail, and small business is going to feel the effects of this crisis. "I" do not say that this is the same power as in the 1935 crisis, but I know that unless something is done, people will say do something or we will vote for the Communists.

LIGHTFOOT then refers to ROBESON's book, saying that it is an ideological combination for the extension of the left in the Negro community, a restoration of the Negro's citizenship. "I" am not talking strictly about left wingers but that may soon come in the more advanced Negro communities. This book can lay the ideological ground work for the building of a movement, so lets not look at it purely as a book, but the basis for building a movement.

In this movement "we" will bring back many not directly in the Party, but will come in close contact with us. Many people have left us in the last ten years, where are these people? GERALDINE (LIGHTFOOT) said that she was going to study this book. Between GERALDINE and KIRSCH (ph.) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK) they have set themselves a goal of 2,000 non-Party sales. So far these two are leading the Party. They have taken 1,000 books. They are being sold in el stations, with signs hanging up in the stations. They are going out every single day hitting every district. "I" think we should get a brochure out. "I" want to sum up by saying "I" see this book as an instrument to the movement, a consolidation to the left and if we do not approach it in that manner we will be missing a very important opportunity.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

There are over 500,000 Negroes in Baltimore and Washington alone, and we have 15 books and are unable to get anymore.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

"I" see that SPENCER (ph.), editor of the "Bombay —", points out that the book has just happened to come out at the right time. "I" was thinking what would have happened if the book had been written two or three years ago. Well, in the first place the book would not have been written two or three years ago as we now have a new situation. "I" would like to suggest the setting up of a small committee to look at the whole question of what kind of capital is needed to put this sale on a big scale.

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Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

Informant advised that LIMA commented, in referring to PAUL ROBESON said that ROBESON was having his first concert this weekend in a Negro church in Los Angeles (California) and said that a recent concert given in Northern California in the bay area was well planned and well received.

Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated that he was going to be very objective in his remarks and would avoid a detailed discussion and wished only to go into general problems. This individual, in referring to PAUL ROBESON mentioned that through his singing, he has done his best work through the use of concerts, adding that the response to his singing in the past year and a half has been excellent. This individual stated that the main problem here is how the book is going to be used as a weapon of the movement, to get to the masses, the effect it (the book) has had on the masses along with the singing.

This individual said that he was frustrated in the sense that much of the "load" is being carried on by only a few, adding that there should be a general mobilization. He said that they are already in debt to the publisher in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars in the printing of the second edition. He said he would like to send a thousand books all over the country, adding that the impact of the book and the way it is to be used as a weapon is important.

According to the informant, the speaker referred to the problem of financial support, expressing the idea that possibly they could get money from people who have read the book.

Remarks of an Individual Believed
To Be [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] commented, in referring to ROBESON's book,

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saying that it deals with the Negro movement, but it has ramifications beyond that movement. [] expressed the thought that a large scale operation for the sale should be undertaken, commenting that a hundred thousand copies might be sold. He recommended that possibly a committee might be set up to give a full report upon the sale of the book.

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b7CRemarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that the subject and the message in the book is most important and it is necessary to consider the powerful political impact upon its readers, which he commented is aside from its economic importance. DENNIS said that every effort should be made in order that the book should "hit the top" throughout the country.

Remarks of []

[] proposed that the committee set up to handle the book (apparently sale of book) should consist of (JACK) STACHEL, (JIM) JACKSON, (ALEXANDER) TRACHTENBERG, [] and himself [].

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b7CRemarks of MICKEY LIMA

According to the informant, LIMA opened his remarks by stating that he did not know how well prepared he was to make the report. He opened his comments by referring to the coming California elections, contrasting the merits of Governor KNIGHT and that of Senator KNOWLAND. According to the informant, LIMA commented, in referring to Senator KNOWLAND, that he made his initial entree on the basis of a very bold and progressive program, which he described as his open identification with regard to the right to work laws. LIMA commented that at the time he (KNOWLAND) did this, it was thought in some circles that he had made a very serious mistake and that he had cut the ground out from beneath himself in terms of any possibility of defeating Governor KNIGHT, adding KNIGHT would be able to win the Republication primary "hands down."

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LIMA pointed out that KNOWLAND's candidacy was a very calculated and bold move on the part of the right wing of the Republican Party. LIMA commented that the election in California has national significance and indicated that it presented a most serious threat both on the domestic and the international scene. LIMA also commented on the Democratic Party candidates in California and the advances made by the Democratic Party in California. He indicated that there was a rank and file upsurge in the Democratic Party and party clubs have developed which total about forty thousand members. He said that the club movement has shown considerable vigor and they battle in a very effective manner. In some ways, more effective^{than} in the past, in that they have learned how to maneuver between the politics and the people.

According to the informant, LIMA referred to the Democratic Convention (apparently in California), where they have effectively put forward a young Mexican American by the name of [] (ph). He said that in the rural areas in the last two elections, there has been a significant shift from

the Republican Party to the Democratic Party, primarily because of the power and water issues. He commented that in the last two elections, there have been a good number of Democratic congressman, assemblymen and state senators elected, where previously the Republicans were in office. He said that state wide the Democratic Party is growing in the ranks as far as senators are concerned. He indicated that the labor movement could play an important part. He said that 40 per cent of the people of Los Angeles are in four congressional districts and the Democrats are in full control. Where 60 per cent of the remaining people live, there are 10 congressional districts. He indicated that the defeat of KNOWLAND is the overall task. He said that there has been a great deal of activity on the part of the labor movement. They have gotten out all kinds of material, held mass meetings in the San Francisco area. He indicated that a mass meeting was held by the Union Labor Party and the Central Labor Council, and the S.U.P. held a mass meeting in Local 42 (ph) and the Pollenary (ph) Workers have held an open mass meeting.

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LIMA commented that the State Federation of Labor has been putting out a lot of material, but that the fact that the labor movement in California has in effect denied it, has resulted in political action forms.

Now, you have the State Federation of Labor putting out material, the San Francisco Union Labor Party putting out material, and in Alameda (ph) County, you have a united labor movement. He indicated that in Alameda County, they are organizing committees on area level and they have access to all the registry, AFL-CIO in that area. It has, of course, a very obvious significance in terms of the development of independence of political actions as far as labor is concerned and it is one that "we" should especially, in that area, pay a great deal of attention to, and to help ourself in this type of development.

According to the informant, LIMA indicated that one of the major weaknesses of the part of labor was that they have failed to raise the right to work in a given district towards the defeat of KNOWLAND. He said that the farm element should attack KNOWLAND on his restraint of trade with Red China and so forth. He said that labor has also failed to develop a stand on education, commenting that the rank and file group in California have attacked Dr. [] on his cold war attitude, while labor has not done anything in this regard.

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In regard to Negro rights, the right to work issue has placed before the labor movement in a new way, the problems of the attitude of Negro workers and hence American workers toward the labor movement. He said that there are a group of Negro workers, who are aware of their needs now and are approaching the question from two points, one, from the class standpoint, to see what they can do to bring to the Negro citizen correct understanding of the right to work issue and two, how they can influence the labor to seek the right to work issue as the goal to break down discrimination.

Continuing, LIMA commented that he wanted to deal also with the question of independent political actions, adding

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"we" want to enhance the development of political action among the people and in the labor movement, taking full advantage of the economic situation. The next thing "we" discussed was the holding of elections and forms of elections "we" felt that this election and the issues emerged there hold the possibility of the "left" playing a very important role. "We" also discussed forms for future expression for election. One was the possibility of influencing some kind of agency for "left" expression, which would be of a relative political character and this brought about a discussion on the role of the Party. A load of questions were raised as to whether or not we are paying enough attention to developing the type of form to make it possible and practicable so that the Party would be in its strictest role. "We" do not propose this as against the Party speaking out in its own right, but in addition to the Party speaking out in its own name, and in addition to the Party having its own candidate. "We" proposed, for example, the idea of setting up an anti-KNOWLAND committee that could throw together labor and Democrats and other people of a generally more advanced character. It would be a form that would not be permanent, a form that would be able to take on KNOWLAND in some of his more vulnerable ways, such as his anti-labor record and attitude. "We" have had discussions on this, both in the northern and southern part of the state.

Continuing, informant advised that LIMA the labor mentioned supporting ROBERTS (ph) (possibly HOLLAND ROBERTS) a school graduate and a person publicly identified as a Marxist, as a candidate for the Board of Education. HOLLAND (ph) left us to decide for ourselves. So "we" decided to go ahead with it, since he (HOLLAND) filed his candidacy. Several problems have come up regarding statements made in debate, but we hope to straighten this out. LIMA, in concluding his remarks, commented that he did not believe that "we" are taking full advantage of the situation in California.

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Informant reported that following a short recess, EUGENE DENNIS asked LIMA several questions:

1. To what extent do you believe the program adopted by the state councils of the Party will attack the program especially adopted by the Democratic Party?
2. In regard to Congress, what do you see in the composition of it, Negro candidates, what about their views?
3. What about a shift between Democrats and Republicans. In your judgment, will there be any opposition to the Democratic Party regarding [redacted]? (ph)
4. Have you any thoughts or views on a candidate for the United States Senate?

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Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

According to the informant, LIMA commented with regard to the possibility of changes (Congressional districts?) there are two possible changes in the North. 1. [redacted] (ph) is running for Congress in the 7th District in the East Bay. He is a friend of the laborer and of the labor movement. He is a good kind of candidate for that kind of area that is involved.

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According to the informant, LIMA then mentioned an individual named MILLER (ph) who he characterized as a young "guy" who ran against [redacted] (ph) and conducted a very vigorous campaign, but was defeated the last time by two or three thousand votes. Informant reported that LIMA also commented concerning other election possibilities in California, but the informant was not in a position to determine these comments. LIMA indicated that the election possibilities in California are more favorable than they were and said that BROWN (ph) will win the Democratic nomination.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that the Trotskyites have issued a major breakthrough against "us" in the United States. He stated that the Trotskyites have close to 15 thousand votes in New York City adding that most of them are not friends of the Soviet Union.

STACHEL stated that the Trotskyites in the eyes of the Party are immoral and corrupt. He concluded his remarks by commenting that with regard to youths, many things are going on in that field and "we" should have a report on that.

Remarks of an Individual Believed
To Be GEORGE MORRIS

MORRIS stated that a lot of Communists today are reluctant to support the Democrats, but it is the lesser of two evils and KNOWLAND should be defeated at all costs.

According to the informant, DENNIS then inquired, "Are you through George?" GEORGE replied that he was, but said that one thing concerned him, that is the dissatisfaction on the part of the membership who say "oh yeah, support the Democrats", whereas the actual main thing is the defeat of the Republicans.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated that in his opinion, the main thing "we" should concern ourselves with regard to the 1958 elections is how "we" are going to participate. "That should be our main objective. I don't give a damn what anyone says if KNOWLAND is defeated. It would be a tremendous victory for us. It would be something big for the politics of the country. Anything less than that lacks prospective as far as 1960 and 1962 is concerned. I think California should be given a so-called go ahead signal and do everything possible to defeat

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KNOWLAND." This individual stated that CP members should be able to realize a feeling of satisfaction from their work. It is true that through history this has been a two party country, but it does not have to remain so. The form "we" take in a political action campaign deals, to a great extent, the role "we" play in furthering the movement, as well. It works both ways. "We" made enough mistakes in 1948 to isolate ourselves. "With all good intentions, let us not make any similar mistakes."

Remarks of An Individual Possibly

[redacted] commented that "we" share a common objective with other forces to defeat KNOWLAND, the difference between "our Party" and those forces is strictly that of perspective. "We" have not only the short term electoral outcome in mind, several long range aims, that is class struggle and so forth. What we do in an election campaign, such as this, we should always bear in mind are long range aims. [redacted] indicated that because of the current economic crisis, he looks for some sharp splits in the Democratic Party. According to the informant, [redacted] questions the advisability of setting up an anti-KNOWLAND committee independent of the Democratic Party, commenting that there is the danger that such an independent committee might take on various forms, and the Party would lose control of it. The individual believed to be [redacted] also stated that he is dubious about the possibility of a third party with the Trotskyites, commenting that this would slow down the CP coalition movement.

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Informant reported the individual concluded his remarks by commenting that he is looking forward to the day when the Party will be able to emerge as a Party and support its own candidates.

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Remarks of an Individual Believed
Possibly BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.

It is necessary for "us" to examine California (election) to a much greater extent in terms of background. California is the second highest electoral vote state in the country. There is a pretty much new community out there with respect to the workers in the factories. I say that in contrast to New York and the eastern seaboard, where political lines are much more settled and established. It seems to me that this makes a difference on how "we" approach the possibility of the "left" intermingling with the "right." The reactionary forces out there are not as cut and dried as they are in New York.

Another factor, perhaps not as important is that they have the Dodgers and the Giants (laughter). You have there Negro and Whites on the same team which will create a new atmosphere. There will be a certain amount of intergration at these games.

According to the informant DAVIS indicated that there is an opportunity for the "left" forces to be much bolder out there (California).

I think "our" next step should be far more independence on the part of American labor movement, even though it does not quite take the independent political action form. One of the things "I" would like to criticize along Party lines is that we are too general and abstract. "We" use terms such as leftist, progressive and monopoly. What do we mean? "We" have to define these terms. "We" also have to define the nature and character of the Negro people. What their relationship to the labor movement is. In "my" judgment, the labor movement does not understand them (Negroes). When Negroes give evidence of backing the Democratic Party, labor shies away from them. This has resulted in very serious differences between the labor movement and the Negro people. Unless "we" ourselves understand it, we are going to make some serious errors regarding the Negro people.

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In this respect, "I" think the Party in Southern California has made a serious mistake in regard to [redacted] (ph), who has shown overtones of anti-semitism at times. In 1960 I agree to an all out defeat of KNOWLAND. Now the question on the defeat of KNOWLAND will not be accomplished by slogans. It is not going to be done simply on the basis of vocalizing. It will be done only to the extent that issues emerge sharply.

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"I" think our impression of the right to work law has great impact among the Negroes and reaching the Negroes with this campaign is very important. In Ohio, the Catholic Church on the same basis has taken a position against the right to work law. Now this is an important development. So "I" do not think it is far-fetched if we take the issues on which KNOWLAND has chosen.

The informant advised that DAVIS then discussed the economic situation, saying that the City Council of Youngstown (Ohio) similarly passed legislation calling on the governor to release money and the City Council of Cleveland (Ohio) similarly passed a resolution to that effect. Now what happens is that you start something that you don't see in a long time, the steel workers crowd the council chambers. So, you see, the economic question has become very important. I know in our area and in other areas, workers automatically associate the ~~Republicans~~ with depression.

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Continuation of BEN DAVIS's Remarks

Informant advised that DAVIS stated he felt that the defeat of Senator KNOWLAND was of national importance. He indicated that this could not be done on any "wishy-washy" basis and thought that an effective means would be basic issues such as the right to work, relief, economic issue and so forth.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT indicated that the defeat of Senator KNOWLAND would be on the basic issues previously raised and to defeat him would require work.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

"I" am one of those who consider that the California (elections ?) and the defeat of KNOWLAND is absolutely sound. "I" would also say without hesitation that "we" need an all-out effort to defeat KNOWLAND and what he stands for, and it's not just the individual; let's not forget the responsibility of the Administration in which he will compete for his candidacy. Let's not forget KNOWLAND's role in prohibiting trade with Yugoslavia and Poland and other countries. This is a typical example of his attitude. "I" think what "we" should work for is to defeat him (KNOWLAND) in such a way that labor and her allies are going to merge stronger. One thing "we" may have overlooked is that KNOWLAND has considerable strength amongst the Negro people.

In this connection, "I" think "we" should stress the responsibility of the labor movement, the right to work issue, and so forth.

Informant advised that DENNIS also mentioned there should be close supervision of the elections in the South, adding that he did not know what the possibilities were, but they should be looked into, that is, some partison development between the Negro, Mexican and American workers. This would make the possibility of issues and the breaking through of a host of candidates move in a closer direction of labor. DENNIS stated that "he" is against an Independent Political Action Group.

Continuing, DENNIS stated that "we" should be second to

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none in propaganda to force the right to work. "I" think "we" have to carry on the necessary explanatory work first, not only the propaganda to establish independent political action.

DENNIS commented that the Dixiecrat question goes right to the heart of the Democratic Party. "We" must move slowly, both politically and ideologically, in Washington and New York against this whole concept of the united socialist movement. HY LUMER states that the fact is we are going through a certain process of evolution with regard to today's Progressive Party, where the whole concept of the Progressive Party itself is under change and it has changed from a mass third party movement to a movement which was controlled by a certain group from the left, which was small and was looking for some such means of expression. This group is easily misled by the phony programs of the other parties. "I" think "our line" should deal much more with the economic situation than the political. It is much more realistic because of the present situation. DENNIS added that the Democratic Party has come forward and stated that the main question in the November elections will be the economic situation or jobs. The labor movement, meanwhile, has dealt with the situation mainly from the immediate legislative program as in the Washington Conference.

The labor movement has been interested in the right to work question rather than economic questions, but does not put these questions in the right order. In regard to the Taft-Hartley Act, a large segment of labor does not see its true significance and can be led to believe that it is in their own best interest, such as when TAFT was able to go into a labor stronghold like Toledo, Ohio, and was able to convince a large segment of labor that it would help them, and he was able to carry Toledo by a large majority.

"We" should not conclude that the workers can see through this right to work legislation, especially in view of the allegations of corruption in labor. The workers can see more clearly the economic situation. "We" must take a fresh look at the whole picture in light of the economic development and the way it affects us.

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Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated "we" are discussing the economic situation in terms of the labor movement and ~~an~~ understanding of it. Already the effect of the economic situation is beginning to give indications of their effect on the peace issue, on the stand of the Democratic Party in the labor movement. It creates a new situation in the development of the fight for peace and the realignment taking place.

On the other aspect, agreement can be reached on a platform by the socialists that will unite all the California socialists away from the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Informant reported that EUGENE DENNIS, who was acting as Chairman, proposed that they accept the main line of the report and after asking if there were any objections, of which there were none, DENNIS stated "so ordered."

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON stated he wanted to give the picture of the situation at the present time. The paper ("The Worker") is in poor health; the staff has been reduced to the minimum. There is not one comrade there who is not working vigorously to augment the staff by contacts on the outside, and "we" are working together. For example, three of us met today; there is a man who knows newspapers who is sympathetic, who is going to help us. Despite this, there are things which bear considerable thought.

Informant advised that PATTERSON then discussed the drive underway for new subscribers to the paper, stating that the drive started in January with a total of 39 new subscribers from outside of New York, and a total of 80 in New York. When "we" add this to the sums "we" had on January 1, it gave us a total of 889. It fell the week of March 3, as contrasted to the other week where we got in New York 200, which made out total at that time 1,080. The week ending the 17th, "we" reached a total of 1,309. The total for the entire country is now 1,701.

"I" want to show you what this means as it does not present

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a satisfactory picture. He stated the drive was for 9,000 subscriptions to be completed by May 1. "We" have now 1,701 and we need 7,300 new subscriptions in one month and this is going to be a most difficult job.

These figures do not represent all new readers. They represent only 10 per cent new readers, the remainder are renewals and lapsed readers. PATTERSON stated that in Wisconsin "our council" went out in the farming area and in a short time, brought in 36 subscriptions, 16 of them new people. It shows how eager they were to get "The Worker" and to see the picture "we" are painting of peace, unemployment, etc. As "we" look over these figures "we" see an unevenness throughout the country. The leading state in the country is Illinois, with 339 new subscriptions. The quota is 4,000 for the country and 5,000 in New York.

"I" sent out a letter to all parts of the country asking them to set a quota for themselves, but no replies have come in. "We," therefore, set a quota for certain districts and tried to distribute it proportionately in line with what they could perform. Unless there is tremendous pressure on our comrades, the possibility is that more than 50 per cent of the drive will fail.

The financial situation in which we have been working has been extremely critical. "I" have never seen a more difficult situation. "We" are operating now with an expenditure of \$2,500 per week approximately. "We" are taking in about \$1,000 and are, therefore, operating at a deficit of \$1,500. "We" have not been receiving regularly from our National and State offices a sufficient amount to meet this deficit. In fact, if the New York district had not given us money through most strenuous efforts, to enable us to reach the printer, some weeks we would not have been able to come out. This is a picture of some of the necessary expenditures: ,

Payroll, \$975.58; printer, \$220.40; composition and make-up man, \$480.00; carriers (to newspapers), deficit of \$35.00 a week for the past three weeks. Other expenses, such as rent and the like brings the total to about \$2,500 per week.

"We" have been going to the districts to find out if

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"bundles" are being paid for, and so forth. Illinois owes "us" a couple of thousand dollars, Detroit owes "us" much more than a couple of thousand dollars, and other districts owe "us" a comparable amount. This shows that the districts do not regard this (the paper) as a business matter; they react as though "the paper was run by a philanthropist."

Now, comrades, "I" want to mention a number of ways we can augment the income. "We" are already planning the May Day affair here at Carnegie Hall and are establishing a committee for a full time worker. "We" have sent out a letter to everyone of those who have allowed their subscriptions to run out. "We" have sent out to every district a list of subscribers who have lapsed from 1955-1957. "We" have called for meetings in many cities around May Day on behalf of "The Worker." Chicago and Detroit have responded. This means that comrades in every district must assume the responsibility to get means from every possible source. Philadelphia has shown no appreciable gain in new subscribers; New York has 674 new subscribers; Boston, 185. This is the picture that confronts us. Up to now, "we" have been able to meet our expenses to a great extent because of both the National Office and the districts. It means that "we" must put on a tremendous drive between now and May Day.

Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, stated that "we" should not set a quota of 5,000 if "we" can only get 3,000. Let's set it at a figure we can reach.

Remarks of Individual Believed To Be ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN stated she was disturbed about the number of subscriptions and that she realizes the comrades have other duties that come first, but the results so far are a disgrace.

Remarks of an Individual Believed To Be BILL ALBERTSON

There are a number of things to consider. There are small groups of members who are against the paper. Then "we" have had these series of resignations within the last month.

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Resignations down below - section organizers - which tends to give a certain demoralization and makes it difficult to get new subscribers. Just in the last month, for example, "we" have had resignations in industry of three regional organizers, and one complete regional leadership. Now, not a penny has come in from these regions for the paper in the past six months.

What "I" think is necessary is for some committee here to sit down and consider what are the needs of the National Office; what are the needs of the paper, and establish a serious, realizable, national objective in which the states and lower echelon can add their own particular objectives and form a national fund drive on May 1. It has been decided, in discussion in New York, that on this annual fund drive, it is to be conducted with a two month high-point of May and June. Summer months are greatly reduced and it is impossible to start a drive on Labor Day. ALBERTSON suggested possibly appointing someone as a fund drive organizer.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

New York's quota, by the way, is only 4,000, not 5,000 (subscriptions). If "we" can get 2,500 out of the 4,000 quota in New York, we will get over 60 per cent of the quota. Now, out of town, the quota is 5,000, but actually nobody expects 5,000 as we only have four populated districts. In my opinion, it is possible to get a minimum of 2,500 out of town and in other words, you can aim at a total of 5,000 subscribers. That would show some results. That is a realistic goal, even if the figures are what they are now. That means that New York will need 2,000 within the next month, or 500 a week; that is not impossible in New York.

Chicago, we know, will get their quota; they are working and have a committee. A certain number of smaller districts will also get their quota, like Minnesota. "I" think Wisconsin has a good start, and whether you like it or not, Connecticut now stands out here as 32 per cent, while Cleveland stands out at 5 per cent, Indiana at 4 per cent, Eastern Pennsylvania at 4 per cent, and New Jersey 9 per cent, New England 6 per cent. "We" know that comrades in Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are going to tackle it, and if they need help, we will give them help. In New England, as a matter of fact, three

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weeks ago they hadn't even started to talk about "The Worker." In my opinion, we are confronted with a problem in Connecticut and New England, and we may actually have to send in organizers in that territory.

"I" think in spite of all our grievances, we have a good chance of closing this drive in May with 5,000 subscriptions. "I" think we should aim at 5,000 in the drive and then decide whether to extend it, and then guarantee the finances of the paper, if necessary.

Remarks of Unknown Male from Ohio

An individual, whose identity was unknown to the informant, but believed to be from the Ohio area, stated that "The Worker" will be getting subscriptions from his district; however, because of Smith Act trials and unemployment, we have been kept extremely busy. "We" are going to start a push, and there is a new attitude, a new response to "The Worker," a new feeling of responsibility in "The Worker." "We" are mobilizing now for its success.

The financial problem is very big for us out there. Youngstown (Ohio), an unemployed area, costs us a lot to distribute.

Individual Believed To Be BEN DAVIS

"We" in New York realize that the Party organization is expensive. "We" face a very serious financial situation, especially so in the National Office; so you see, there is a very immediate need for the drive. The need is so bad that the people downstairs wanted the drive to end April 15 instead of May 1. Also, "we" have been faced with the problem that some of the comrades wanted to go on a political strike against the Party. "We" must have a different approach to these districts as to why they do not do as they are supposed to do. You must carry out the Party's demands, you must concretely implement the right of the Party to lead the Party.

Maybe "I" am reopening old wounds, but we have a situation, we have to pull together, we have got to fight together, And that goes for the ultra-left too. Our Party expects and must guarantee

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that this situation does not happen again. This we must be united on. "We" must convey to the Party and to the sympathizers of the Party that this is a temporary situation. "We" must find a way not to let pass such outlandish stories as appeared in the "Times" ("New York Times") concerning some millions of dollars the Party had and that we have inexhaustible funds. "We" have to end it.

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON defended the setting of a specific goal such as 5,000 subscriptions. He explained that this goal gives the comrades an incentive; however, if they do not want it, it can be dropped in future drives. He indicated that the drive should be extended to June 1.

"I" have attended three different meetings today and one with Carnegie Hall. "I" have a lot of leg work and don't even have a secretary. Informant advised that unidentified individual interrupted PATTERSON asking "what did they want at Carnegie Hall?" PATTERSON retorted that they, Carnegie Hall, want the program at least ten days or a week ahead of time, adding "it was obvious that he was being required to take this step."

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

When "we" break down "The Worker" drive, "we" find that some comrades and others are not subscribing, not because of Communist political lines, but because of the disorganized figures of the Party. The situation is uniform, that is taking them away. We have 1,800 subscriptions for the whole of the Party and it does not reflect any one viewpoint. "We" can fight the goals of JOHN GATES or the goals of FRED FINE and SID STEIN from now until doomsday, but you have to show a certain amount of respect for these people in order for us to get along.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS stated "How about motions?" "The motion is that the subscription price remain \$3.50, any objections?" DENNIS then stated, "The motion is carried due to lack of objections." "We" adjourn and reconvene at 10:30 a. m. tomorrow.

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SECOND DAY SESSION, MARCH 29, 1958Remarks of GEORGE MORRIS

Informant advised that MORRIS opened his remarks by referring to the recent AFL-CIO conference held in Washington, D. C. MORRIS stated that the keynote speech was given by MEANEY (GEORGE), followed by a speech by MITCHELL (JAMES P.) and then [] (phonetic). He said that REUTHER (WALTER) was the main "arbiter." MORRIS referred to the eight major points advanced (apparently at conference):

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- (1) Unemployment insurance.
- (2) A cut in taxes
- (3) Public works
- (4) Housing program
- (5) A school construction program
- (6) An improvement in the Social Security System
- (7) A movement for the totally distressed areas
- (8) Minimum wage.

Continuing, MORRIS stated that the program also included a visit by a delegation headed by MEANEY (GEORGE) to President EISENHOWER. Informant stated that MORRIS also referred to a letter which was a very angry indictment of capitalism, and he (MEANEY?) gave a very dismal picture of things in America today. The keynote of his whole remarks was that the country is in an alarmed situation today, but there is no alarm in watching it, the watching has to be awakened. Continuing, MORRIS, apparently referring to MEANEY's speech, also commented on the need for an increase in unemployment insurance, as well as an extension of unemployment insurance. He (MEANEY ?) singled out those things (eight major points) as items that were needed immediately in order to put "purchasing power" in the pockets of the people.

Informant further advised that MORRIS stated that

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it was interesting that "Pravda" ran the whole speech of GEORGE MEANEY and took about a full page. MORRIS stated that he had checked the text ("Pravda"?) regarding a special paragraph directed against the Soviet Union. Continuing, MORRIS said that he (MEANEY) gave a speech that was an indictment of capitalism today and a very angry denunciation of those in power for doing nothing in face of the situation.

MORRIS also stated that MITCHELL (JAMES P.), who followed MEANEY, took up this theme, that is, a movement that has political push. He (MITCHELL) said that he agreed with MEANEY that things have to be done to push purchasing power immediately.

MORRIS said that in his opinion only MEANEY's speech made much of an impression. He commented that the delegations received a fine response on the reports. "They" reported that many of the Republicans (?) were very cordial and had good response from then on many of the questions, which in the past, Republicans were opposed to.

MORRIS stated that he (MORRIS) did not believe that labor went far enough on taxes. MORRIS stated that in his opinion what was missing from the conference was that it was not a conference where people could bring up the more direct meanings, such as relief conditions that are becoming more and more serious, the question of the moratorium on debt. There was also nothing on a shorter work week. There again is where "I" (MORRIS) think progressives should stress most of all (shorter work week). There was no reference to trade at all and part of the Government report shows that unemployment among non-whites is more than twice that among the whites. Nothing was said of it at the conference. No reference was made to discrimination, either in hiring or firing. The conference also gave very clear evidence that the leadership of REUTHER is very much "disoriented."

Continuing, MORRIS commented that there was much talk about decreasing of taxes, licking unemployment, starting

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public works immediately. Then the speakers always came down to the solemn moment in their speeches when they took a deep breath and said, "If we don't do something about this situation, then what can happen to uncommitted labor?" MORRIS said that there were two other interesting speeches, one was REUTHER's (WALTER) and the other MC DONALD (possibly DAVID REUTHER said, "Nothing will harm you." He stressed the need to use our vast resources to help the uncommitted. He asked how come "America is so eager to do a job for war?" He (REUTHER) said in time of war, "they even brought the grandmothers out." MORRIS commented this was his windup. JR.)

MORRIS said, in referring to MC DONALD's speech, that it was worse than any. He pointed out that there were "214,000 unemployed and 367,000 part-time (unemployed) in the Metal Workers." MC DONALD said that we are not meeting here to discover that the economy is in serious trouble, we want to hear what you, the Government, is going to do to assist us. "He (MC DONALD) urged constantly, Democratic action."

MORRIS stated (apparently still referring to MC DONALD's speech), that one of the big things was that there was a growing conviction that military expenditures won't make for prosperity. The realization that "we" have lived under that type of economy quite a number of years has not stopped. MORRIS then referred to the opening remarks of an unnamed Senator to the effect that the country has had eight crises in the past forty years, and the only intense ones were 1921, the HOOVER crisis, and 1937. MORRIS said that the conference manifested itself with the fact that today unions are not the friends of the unemployed, and that was the most important thing of the conference. He said that "we" have here a downtrend of capitalism and an emphatic upspring of socialism, and these two things are fair rewards. "I" (MORRIS) think opportunities will be greater and indicated advancement could be made if they could break out of their isolation. He indicated that a variety of activities could be undertaken in such a period as

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today, because people are becoming more active and are beginning to arrange meetings to take up the problems of union members and unemployment program. "We" have been lackadaisical. You have the problem of organizing unemployment organizations or unemployment activities in communities. "Our" problem is to develop community type organizations and he referred specifically to the suicide in New York of RODRIQUEZ (phonetic).

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LIGHTFOOT stated that the first problem was that of policy and said they must demonstrate more policy and to mobilize to show people how to do it. He said that the Negro field presents a favorable opportunity, "I", for one, have been hanging in the air in many discussions we've had on our ability to analyze the situation. "We" know how to analyze. My only doubt is whether we can develop a program. LIGHTFOOT indicated that what they needed was a springboard for activity. He referred to the Negro Labor Relations Committee, which is the sponsor of the "Crusader" newspaper, who are picketing the First National Bank on the basis of jobs in the bank. He said the NLRC in Chicago is attempting to get jobs in the higher echelons and in the department stores. He said that notwithstanding the weakness of "Party organization," they are already at work and are putting forth initiative. He said this is possible because they had a base. He indicated that a base to work is most important. "We" should take ten or fifteen places in the country and concentrate the next few years on them. Then working from these bases, people are going to know. This will create a springboard in labor movement to take up where we used to be through the left unions, where we were in the CIO.

Continuing, informant advised that LIGHTFOOT also spoke on the question of leadership in organization, saying that he (LIGHTFOOT) saw no need for a labor secretary, but rather a need for leadership in all parts of concentration. He said to develop an industrial program is all right, but to have nothing below does not mean much.

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Remarks of Individual Believed to be
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

He stated that there were a lot of former Party people in the trade union movement, and with regard to leadership, "we" have to take note of things like the resignations in California, "which is very painful." He indicated that things were moving very fast. "We" can see the impact of the Party's role in the trade union movement, especially in the lower level. You have a large number of people who had been associated with "us" and not associated with "us." He indicated that there was a new attitude in the trade union movement toward the Party, a new friendliness and a new respect for the Party. This is found among workers generally and "they" want to know what they are supposed to do.

According to the informant, KRCHMAREK pointed out as an example activity in the building trade union where "they" (Party) got much help from non-Party "guys." In fact, one "guy" said if this is the way the Party works, I want to join the Party. KRCHMAREK stated that this individual has not joined the Party as yet but he felt that he would.

He stated that in the Steel Workers they got excellent response to material that was sent out, indicating that the first responses were from the unemployed. He suggested that a series of leaflets be put out and the first leaflet could be on the question of armaments. He indicated that this type of work is the role of our Party, that is, the supporting of different issues like the increase in unemployment insurance. He stated that they should not underestimate the working class, saying that when they get such a demand and such a response, it means the workers appreciate and recognize the role that the Party has played. They don't do this just for fun. There is a very definite reason for it and some of these guys occupy quite high positions and they are not "our people," never have been. In fact, it is only the last year and a half that "we" ever got relations with them.

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Remarks of Individual Believed to be GEORGE MEYERS

"I" have made observations on the susceptibility of certain people in the labor movement. In Maryland, there is also a susceptibility of some non-Party people in the labor movement to ideas of the Party. They are not "our people" but are people who are willing to discuss problems with us. The paper ("The Worker" ?) gets good reception from these people. Former comrades who were in the party in the late 1940's and early 1950's now want to set up clubs in industry and get going again.

"I" think there is a vast uneasiness among the working class concerning capitalist control of the wage. As one of the fellows in industry, a male worker, said, "they" do not want to join the Party but would like to meet someone who is beating at these S.O.B.'s. Continuing, MEYERS stated that they are organizing a partnership (?) based on an economic situation. These are the things we have to drive home in our agitation campaign, such as the right of every man, woman and child to proper food, clothing, medical care, etc., regardless of whether jobs are available or not. He commented that sometimes a lot of talk goes on, such as, "they" do not want a job, they could not get a job anyhow, they wouldn't want to work, etc. Sometimes this is said of the Negro people in our area (Maryland). "I" think we have to drive that home and keep driving it until our program is realized. "We" can make this demand and it is not "up in the sky."

"I" agree with GEORGE (MORRIS) that the program presented is a real live proposal on the part of labor. "We" can extend this a little, such as the question of a shorter work week. We have to "drive home" that there is no need for anyone in this country suffering because of their inability to get a job. Congress can't just make jobs by throwing all the money in war machines.

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Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

"I" do not think "we" have as yet caught up with the labor movement, some of our contributions, for example. AL (RICHMOND ?) gave a report on labor movement in terms of periods of labor legislation in periods of depression. This is a special supplement "we" are going to get out on the effects of right to work and the economic situation of the Negro workers. Maybe "we" will have fifty or one hundred copies sent out to key workers in industry. Now, in the last economic decline, "we" find that AL (RICHMOND ?) wrote an article under the pen name MORTON (phonetic) and "we" used the address of the Pacific Publishers Foundation, which is really the "People's World." "We" got direct orders from all kinds of unions, those which we never had any access to before.

According to the informant, LIMA indicated that they were doing additional research on HY's (LUMER) economic report. He said that they must begin a defense of the labor movement and to explain the whole situation so far as the labor movement is concerned.

Remarks of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

As far as New York is concerned, it is a case of nothing developed. "I" cannot emphasize too strongly the problems which still exist in the Party and the necessity for straightening out the confusion and mess. "I" do not put this forward as an excuse. DAVIS indicated that the problem is the economic struggle and the need to pull them out of categories of generalities. He said that the problem in New York is a special problem. This is especially true in Negro and Puerto Rican communities. "We" have some complications with the Puerto Ricans because most of the "spirited cadre" have been more or less associated with some leaders of the ultra left. The result has been some isolation with important Puerto Rican cadre.

DAVIS stated that something new has been happening

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in the Party, especially with the experiences of CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and KIRSH (Phonetic)(possibly ANTHONY KRCHMAREK), experiences which indicate that the Party is beginning to deal with this and "we" cannot speak in the "old negative sing-song way." In this connection, it seems to "me," to be extremely important that, as leaders of the Party, we recognize the positive aspects of what our Party has done.

According to the informant, DAVIS then referred to the California statement, which he said was based on an assumption of the complete isolation of the Party because most of the Party members do not know what the Party has been doing. It is not enough, in my judgment, for us to have an occasional article in PA (Political Affairs), an occasional article in "The Worker," and so on. "We" must find a way to get this information to the Party organization on a national scale and thus block this isolation argument. "I" think we have reached a point when the question of building the resources of "The Worker" must be applied solely to the renewal (of subs).

DAVIS commented that the building of subs depends upon the degree in which the Party engages in mass activities, and to the degree which the whole personnel of the Party needs "The Worker."

Remarks of HY LUMER

According to the informant, LUMER commented generally about the pending legislation in Congress. He commented that in 1954 a tax cut was given to the corporations instead of the workers, which, in effect, bolstered the purchasing power of investment capital rather than workers. LUMER commented that at the next meeting of the Economic Committee, they should take up the question of the economic discussion and taxes. "I" think "we" need to give a little attention to the tariff question, as an issue, and how it relates to position of East-West trade. "We" have the Economic Committee

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functioning now and meeting regularly. LUMER stated that consideration should be given to writing articles in "The Worker" regarding such questions as, "Why do prices keep rising," "What is the effect of automation," and so forth.

He stated that with regard to the Party program, they have undergone a great deal of rewriting and revision, which, though not perfect, is as close as "we" can come to satisfying a great many different views. ART SHIELDS is working on a pamphlet regarding the AFL situation.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that KHRUSHCHEV had a comment about the so-called American reception to the effect that trade with Soviet countries would ease the recession, as well as the depression. STACHEL commented that the situation in 1958 is not as it was in 1929 or 1930. The situation is a different kind of crisis. We have a different labor movement, which is very positive. The working class of the United States is not all backward, whereas before, you had the mass of workers bound to companies and company unions which were not organized.

STACHEL indicated that what has to be done is to give some thinking along the lines of keeping the masses and how to get out of the crisis.

In other words, if we think along these lines, "we" will meet not only the challenges we have received, but the certain challenge contained in the "so-called manifesto" of those who resigned yesterday (apparently referring to people in California who left CP). According to the informant, STACHEL concluded his remarks by saying that this is a situation which should bring us together.

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Remarks of Unknown Male, Possibly JAMES JACKSON

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant commented that he wanted to emphasize one point which was elaborated on by CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT); namely, "how." This individual then referred to certain experiences encountered in southern work. He stated that in the south, the Party, 25 years back, played the "premier role" regarding the welfare concept of the unemployed. The south had no welfare program and a handful of Party people organized the unemployment movement. In the south, there have been key changes in this 25-year period, from the standpoint of legislation, at the city, county and state level, inadequate as it is. There have been changes in the attitude of the population to the degree of their sensitivity to this question.

-- Now in the south, the labor movement generally is ill-equipped to play any substantial role in behalf of the struggle of the unemployed. The south as a whole is 15 per cent organized. In certain localities, for example Houston (Texas), you have the unusual picture of a very relatively advanced trade union movement, not only union, but civic consciousness. There are some exceptional activities being initiated in reference to the problems of the unemployed by the trade union councils.

But, in the main, the southern picture presents itself, outside of Houston, Birmingham and one or two others, where the trade unions are in poor condition to take up the question of the unemployed, but that does not mean that there is not other avenues. For example, in the Negro communities of the south, you have the new phenomena of established Negro organizations like the Urban League and the NAACP. Organizationally, they are in a much stronger position than ever before. Also, the Negro churches have undergone a big development in their own social consciousness.

I mention the south because some four states in the

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south have a proportion of urban unemployment that is twice that of the national average. Three southern states have industrial unemployment less than the national average. They are Texas, Florida and Virginia. Some states have almost double that of the national average. This is reflected in the last six month period by migration of 600,000 (people).

Now, a long line of desperate agitators sought to stimulate a revival of interest in the trade union movement on the question of some concerted organizing effort in the south. This doesn't mean that the Party is frowned upon, even in places where the trade unions are not prepared to act on the unemployment question, because there are vehicles and established organizations in which "our people" have begun to find the field to work. It becomes a task for a group of comrades working in one or another of these organizations, churches, to establish councils of welfare and the problems of unemployed. Now one or another of these institutions can initiate citywide or countywide conferences on the problems of the unemployed, which, in turn, will stimulate what minimum capacities the very weak trade union movement has in a number of communities in the south.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

"I" move that in addition to the program we have already set forth, that is, in our legislative program.... the question should be raised, figuratively speaking, in the State of New York, that the AFL-CIO go out and get a million signatures in one month's time. "We" could propose to pledge to collect a minimum of 10 per cent of the million signatures on a petition to have when Congress reconvenes shortly after its recess (Easter recess ?) to get something moving on this big issue.

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Remarks of [redacted]

Informant advised that [redacted] opened his comments by referring to Mexico and commenting about an unnamed individual, said this individual thought this would be an opportunity for a struggle over the right of passport. [redacted] said he was opposed to it on two grounds; first, political, since this is the eve of the Mexican elections; and secondly, "I" am opposed to inviting any secondary diversionary new struggle on passport issues. You have passport issues enough here on the question of ROBESON and others. The question of international solidarity might be served much better in terms of the situation in Cuba and on some action relative to that score. It does not seem to be a very responsible proposal to me and "I" want to register my opposition to it, and "I" think it should be reviewed.

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Continuing, the informant advised that [redacted] also discussed the activities of individuals outside the Party who, he said, are attempting to exploit in a new way the Party's problems. He indicated that this stemmed from the way the "Times" ("New York Times") and the rest of the capitalist press interpreted the outcome of the National Committee meeting; such as, the affairs of the Party were in the hands of a bunch of Moscow-controlled revolutionists. "We" have also the line that is developed that the Party is now back in the hands of the Stalinists. Then, of course, "we" have the big play that has been given the HOOVER book, (apparently referring to J. EDGAR HOOVER's book, "Masters of Deceit") attacking the Party.

At the same time, certain forces (once associated with the Party ?) have also revolted. This takes the form, first of all, of these concerted resignations throughout the Party. Most of the resignations have taken place in the New York organization, which included three officers, three or four weeks ago, as well as the organizers of a number of sections.

"We" have the complication of the Jewish views - - the Jewish comrades led (?) a very spirited onslaught against the Soviet Union. Now "we" have the "germs" of this California statement, resignations not only from posts, but considerable resignations from the Party. It seems to me that this is a move in the direction of the kind of thing that was pulled (?) by the New York leadership of STEIN (phonetic) (possibly SID STEIN) in an

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organized effort to pull forces out of the Party.

Informant advised that [] also spoke of the right tendencies in the Party exerting pressures. On the other hand, you have the comrades that argue along the lines that the right danger has disappeared and it is no longer necessary to continue the struggle against that political ideology. At the same time, "I" think "we" should note that the basic position of the Party has steadily improved. This has come from a strengthening and clarification of the Party's policies from top to bottom. The resolving of the present key questions in respect to the Party: It also has been strengthened by the fact that the Party has handled, is handling, the economic question.

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Now, on the opposite side of the political (situation?), there is the left group within the Party. There has been, "I" believe, a - leftist move - in the Party, together with a type of activity in certain organized groups in Chicago and in New York. "We" should understand that the last committee meeting opposed these leftist (groups).

The National Committee centered the Party's position and ability to deal with these things. "They" did it by making some progress in overcoming the former paralysis in the National leadership, by taking away from them what was their strongest political power. Secondly, we have the problem of certain factionally organized left wing groups which involve only a relatively small and narrow segment of the Party membership in given areas. We must see both sides of this problem.

According to the informant, [] also discussed the question of Negro work, indicating that the working class needs to play a larger share in the leadership of the Negro peoples movement. In the fight for peace, you have the need for the linking of the fight for peace with the struggle on the economic issues. Among the issues affected by the fight for peace is the foreign policy. You have the very peculiar emergence of the "left" in anti-Soviet groups, taking form in attacks on KHRUSHCHEV (apparently NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV), contending that STALIN was right and that KHRUSHCHEV is departing from the path of true Marxist-Leninist. Most of the elements affected by the leftist groups and tendencies insist that the vanguard roles

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of the Party be developed in complete disregard for the position in the trade union movement and the world peace movement.

The existence of the vanguard role of the Party must be exerted very much along the lines of the fight on the old Scottsboro cases, where the Party was in direct political and organizational leadership in the fight.

Among the more practical aspects of the comrades influenced by these tendencies, we also find the new theories arising with respect to the questions of anti(?)-centralism of the Party. "We" feel first that democratic centralism is necessary for the Marxist forces in America today and that it must be applied as LENIN applied it in 1903, 1904 and 1905, at the time when the social democrats in the Soviet Union were organized in the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the -----.

"I" think "we" must very boldly take on these factionalists. "We" will have to move in where these factional movements have gained a measure of organizational control and have tried to "box-off" sections of the membership from the regularly elected leaders of the Party. "We" have to move in to sections of Chicago, Lower Harlem, the waterfront section of New York. "We" have got to find position and we have got to enforce it.

At the same time that we do this, "we" have to take some measures against the rampant factionalism and we will have to take organizational measures as well. "What are some of these differences?" Well, you have the KELLER (phonetic) group in Chicago - nothing much has changed since the time of the last committee meeting, with the authority still in the hands of revisionists. You also have there in Chicago, the SAUNDERS-JONES (phonetic) tendency, which is now under quite sharp attack from the other colored faction. Now, of course, "our Party" has no intention of finding a compromise to the policies and ideologies of the SAUNDERS-JONES (phonetic) faction, but that does not mean that "we" should not utilize this division within their ranks and exploit it and "muss up" this group. It does not mean that there are not a number of Communists who are not involved in the factionalist groupings, one way or another, who cannot be won over. These factional groupings are small, hard-core factional groups.

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For example, we have to get into that Indiana State. In New York, "we" have a different type. Here, you have the [redacted] and [redacted] forces, who are much less sophisticated than the -- SAUNDERS (phonetic) (group). The Illinois forces are engaged in the same way, mostly boycotts. "I" think that here in New York, it is complicated by the fact that this (group) is strong, where the Party is weak, particularly in the Puerto Rican (group?). Here, a decisive struggle against these forces has developed Party mass work among the Spanish people. Together with this, there is the fact that this group has certain sympathizers among our Negro membership, arising, in the first place, from dissatisfaction with activities in relation to problems of the Negro people.

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Informant advised that [redacted] indicated there were similar tendencies in the West Coast and in New Jersey. He said that trips were being made into Wisconsin and in Minnesota, and probably elsewhere, of which we have no knowledge. Now, this is in respect to some of these factional activities. "We" must develop a certain approach to the responsibilities of leadership. Responsibility rests with members of the committee and when that committee decides on policy, then no longer (can we) operate against that committee.

"We" have to verify certain Party concepts, for example, the trust and results. Certain members go around the country to mobilize a defense of the policy of the Party. There is confusion on this policy of the Party and we must establish clarity and procedure. "We" must also establish a proposition in respect to procedure, where "we" do not have [redacted] running into New Jersey to a conference of the county-state leadership of the Party, which [redacted] knows nothing about; where we do not have MANNIE (phonetic) (possibly EMANUEL BLUM) "running wild" in Chicago as if there was no state leadership in that area. These kind of questions "we" can and must begin to put within the framework of the general political ideologies, so we do not confuse certain organizational levels and members.

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Now, one thing with respect to the left, which "I" think you know about. That is, they have something in common with the right. First of all, they are both banking on the Party

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situation going from bad to worse. This is where their future lies; this is what they are banking on; this is the fact out of which arises the common attitude of sabotage of the Party's activities, efforts to demoralize the Party. They both have the refusal to enter into mass activities of the Party. "I" think we should approach this problem with justified confidence in our ability, and justified confidence backed by the fact that the Party's position has been strengthened and will be strengthened further as the Party's mass work begins to unfold.

With regard to Brooklyn, my estimate, and "I" agree with the New York State leadership, is that Brooklyn falls in the category of dissatisfaction with the leadership; falls in the category of comrades seriously influenced by certain leftist moves. The cadre there is a good portion Negro comrades and are influenced by certain mass factors.

Informant advised that in answer to a query, [redacted] indicated that the struggle against the Brooklyn leadership and the membership is not the same situation as in Chicago, where the main part is factional.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

Comrades, I do not want to speak, I merely want to put a document into exhibit so that the comrades from out of town can see it. One of our comrades in Harlem gave me this document put out by HARRY HAYWOOD. The theme of it is the revolutionary position of the Negro and it is 47 pages long.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

According to the informant, MEYERS commented concerning the leftist position in the Party, adding that the first thing to be on guard against, as far as he could see, is this leftist view and concepts. He stated that DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG had been down to see her mother recently and indicated that while there, she had received abuse. MEYERS stated that DOROTHY, in his opinion, has been a real hero in the Party and that they should put a stop to this kind of abuse. In answer to a query from an unidentified individual, MEYERS commented that she (DOROTHY) did not give him any of the details, but that he had received it from a third party and it concerned the Twelve Party Declaration.

MEYERS said the only explanation is the "disease" stemming from nationalism which has resulted in a deep hate for the Soviet Union and a deep disgust with every --- in the Party. He indicated that it has developed into a whispering campaign against comrades supporting the (Soviet Union) point of view. Continuing, MEYERS commented that the Party had been under constant attack in "our district" (Maryland) from sources such as Government and State officials. So that this fear of "stool pigeons" is something "we" have to contend with there. There is an unhealthy fear, some of the comrades quit in disgust and some quit in anger. It is a pretty tough thing, you see. Who knows who is the stool pigeon and who isn't.

MEYERS then referred to an individual who has been

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made a stool pigeon like every other Negro of our Party in our district has been made a stool pigeon, "every single Negro." MEYERS indicated that this individual tried to bring the situation to a head by ordering charges preferred against him. He said this did not make any difference as "they" act without even consulting district leaders. MEYERS said he just wondered how the problem exists in other districts, adding that the situation is worsening and it keeps the Party off balance.

Informant advised that JACK STACHEL commented that something similar was taking place here, too.

Remarks of BILL ALBERTSON

About six weeks ago, "I" finally succeeded in getting (to lead ?) the Waterfront Section--got there by cutting off the Waterfront subsidy on the basis that the Waterfront refused to participate in the fund drive. ALBERTSON then referred to a meeting, apparently of the Waterfront Section, saying that, as far as political discussion was concerned, the DENNIS report was the height of revisionism. He said there was an official representative of lower Harlem and from New Jersey present at the meeting. ALBERTSON commented that one of the speakers pointed out that they are making national tours, having been to Pittsburgh and Chicago. It is a fact that eight months ago, they had an eastern seaboard conference, at which a vote was taken as to whether to set up a new organization with the (Party ?), and the vote, if "I" remember correctly, was about 32 to 17 to reject the idea of a new organization.

Now the kind of talk that took place in that Waterfront meeting was something that I had never heard before. He indicated that they attacked the whole national and state leadership, adding that when the discussion was over, there were few people there who would have dared to vote against the report of anyone. He indicated that they have complete control of everything in that section.

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Continuing, ALBERTSON commented that insofar as Brooklyn is concerned, in the Brooklyn leadership some comrades are working together with this ultra group and are influenced by some of the points of view expressed. Some comrades thought that the only way they could defeat the "right" was on the basis of making an alliance with the "ultra left," and they did so. Except that this alliance was broken up on instructions from [redacted] and [redacted] that under no circumstances would they unite with anybody that had a tinge of revisionism.

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"I" think, generally speaking, fortunately, "they" (ultra left) are more or less isolated as certain pockets in a couple of industries. In the Waterfront, they have control and, of course, in lower Harlem and in one or two other places.

Now, insofar as the extreme right is concerned, there was a private affair in Brooklyn some weeks ago on the question of amnesty for GIL (GREEN) and [redacted]. They had approximately one hundred people present and invitations had gone to a number of people who were not associated with them. They charged admission and raised a little over \$300. [redacted] was present. ALBERTSON said that he was informed concerning the meeting and that it was the type of affair where everybody was speaking about everything and everyone. Of course, people were there who are not like JOHN GATES and others.

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Continuing, informant advised that ALBERTSON then spoke on the question of resignations, saying that the California document is not just something which comes up in California and, in his opinion, it establishes a program. "I" see it as fact that there is a (conspiracy in this thing.) "I" cannot understand a "scurrilous" document that is still being mailed to Jewish comrades in New York which speaks of American Communist Party as supporting Soviet politics in the Middle East. It is a cartoon of a Russian bear shaking hands with a Nazi storm-trooper carrying the sign "Down with the Jews." It has on the front cover a picture of a broken Jewish star. This

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cannot be the final expression of a comrade gone berserk, it has to be more than that, because it is intended to tear the Party apart and create all kinds of demoralization and anti-Party attitudes in a place like New York with a large Jewish population.

ALBERTSON indicated that this must be Government inspired and thought that they should look into the matter.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

LIMA commented that the group that has been inspired by the last National Committee meeting has been the ultra left in California. They are attempting to justify their position as a result of this meeting. "I" still feel the Party has the responsibility for considering whether or not "they" handled this thing in the manner which was most effective. "I" say they didn't do it. They failed along the lines that CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and CARL (WINTER) had attempted to do, to arrive at collective agreements. As a result, we have the kind of situation that resulted in California today. It fed the extreme left on one hand and it fed the development of this other group on the other side.

LIMA then spoke concerning the factionalist fight, saying that all kinds of documents have been sent to California from New York, Chicago and Indiana. He referred to a conversation he had with [redacted] (phonetic) where [redacted] made all kinds of phoney statements to the effect that he had nothing to do with people inside the Party, that he had established contacts with groups outside the Party. This is the kind of line he ([redacted] ?) had. This is the development that took place in California. The key thing was raised, and this has been raised from the right also; namely, that the resolution be rejected. This was raised in both district county meetings, both in the north and in the south, rejecting the position taken as a result of the National Committee meeting.

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Well, their argument is that the Party is an obstacle to the development of a Marxist-Leninist (cult ?). Now the argument they use is that the result of the resolution in the National Committee means that the extreme left is now in the leadership of the national center and they are going to intervene in California and impose a leadership there that is more acceptable to their position.

LIMA then referred to a conversation he had with an unidentified female, saying that he charged her that the taking of this step was going to put the PW ("People's World") in danger and "she" remarked that "the PW is going to be destroyed anyway."

According to the informant, LIMA, then referring to the labor movement in the A.F. of L. section, commented that they are more interested in what develops in other countries in comparison to the class struggle in this country. The Party in Northern California is concerned that despite losses, the bulk of the Party's members are, of this moment, uncommitted; that is, uncommitted as far as any factional group is concerned. The bulk of the Party in Northern California can be won with a correct policy. The resignations that are taking place, and I don't want to underestimate their importance, and I do not know what the indications are, but it is going to have repercussions. LIMA indicated that Brooklyn has become, not only ideologically, but a major base for this operation, the major center for the birth of the national (clubs) in this operation.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be HY LUMER

First, "I" want to point out that the problem of the extreme left affects the extreme right, something which affects everyone. He then referred to a report given by one [] (LNU), saying that [] gave a report and a prepared speech without having read the prepared report. The nature of his speech was that the report was no good, that it did not give a true characterization of the economic

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crisis. "I" mention this because it illustrates a basic feature of the people in these groups. You are dealing here with an attempt to prove a preconceived line. However, I do not think that this means there is no basis for an ideological struggle, because I think you have a substantial section of Party members who are honest. I think it has to be approached and presented to the Party and has to be ruthlessly exposed. On the question of factionalism, the Party cannot tolerate organized factional activity. If you don't, you will have serious cause to regret it. You have to give some consideration on how to deal with the material put out by this group, because while this stuff is circulating through their own channels in its factional form, there is a campaign to print it in 48 states, which "I" think we ought to resist and fight against.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

"I" want to say at the outset that "we" will make a very serious mistake if "we" allow this sharp crisis to divert us from mass work in the Party. Mass work will be more difficult in the Party because of the ultra left, as well as the right. It is true that in Harlem the danger is from the "left wing," but after the State convention, when "we" saw what was taking place with the emergence of the ultra left, a real fight was put up. There are still influences of the left in Harlem. This is particularly true among the active Negro cadre. "We" have in the Harlem Party organization a new type of cadre, comrades who have good training. "I" have been unable to help them because of State problems, which is my number one authority. It is my desire to reshuffle, to reorganize, so "I" can play a greater role in Harlem. In saying that, let me say, there is a very severe cadre crisis in Harlem. It is most severe where "we" had a large group of women associated with the right point of view, but I do not think it would give the comrades a true picture if I did not give them a picture of the fight put up against the ultra left.

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We reorganized the New York State Committee and GEORGE (CHARNEY ?) and "I" did that primarily on the platform of a struggle of the ultra left. This situation has been complicated by the fact that most of the influence of the comrades among the ultra left has been among Puerto Rican comrades, Negro comrades and women. [redacted] did refer to the fact that [redacted] already championed this ultra left over in New Jersey, which is an indication of the influence of the ultra left. "We" have been able to prevent the Brooklyn ultra left from assuming the organizational aspects of fighting the Party's line. The biggest expression of this has been in finances. With respect to the present financial situation, [redacted] BILL (ALBERTSON ?) and "I" had some discussions with [redacted] wherein "we" are not satisfied with the financial situation.

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DAVIS indicated that they had received agreement from [redacted] that the main properties of the Party in Brooklyn will be turned over to the State. DAVIS then referred to the Jewish composition in "our Party" which is being exploited by forces both in and outside the Party. The Party must be educated in the forms and expression of this with respect to the building of the Jewish movement and the relationship of this to the Negro problem. "I" think the Party should examine this question and work out some sort of a Party position. Now a campaign was carried out for some time in the capitalistic press by HARRY SCHWARTZ ("New York Times" reporter) to the effect that (JIM) JACKSON, "I" and other Negro comrades were anti-Semite. "We" in New York have reduced the ultra left to lower Harlem. Now we have to move in and really dissolve it, and do everything possible to break up the "cohesiveness" of this faction.

We cannot allow the fact that there are certain comrades of the right who have been following a systematic policy of blackmail of the Party. They are not interested in the Party itself, its program, its committees, but have

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only one G-- D--- interest in the Party and that is how much money they can get out of it. I say we have to examine the weapons, not just rank and filers, but leaders of the Party. The same thing goes for the ultra left.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

We have a situation where we must tackle these two simultaneously. We cannot say we have no more problems with right-wingers in California or the "sit-down strike" here. At the same time, it is clear that if you ignore the question of ultra left, you cannot move, you are paralyzed. We have more or less united, not on a "right line" or a "left line," but to carry out the line of the 16th Convention. This convention, in the estimate of the last National Committee meeting, was very important. "I" do not want to go into the points made by comrade LIMA as to whether we made a mistake on how we handled it. What happened at the National Committee meeting, in my opinion, was not the most important thing in the world. What happened at the last NC meeting was not a victory for any group. The convention itself did not adopt a position one way or the other. That is why I emphasize that this is not the time for any group, because everybody is taking advantage of the fact that there is no Party or what they consider no Party authority. They are moving in, everybody is as good as the next fellow. In fact, the more you can attack the leadership, the more friends you get. That was possible because there was no united leadership. "We" have got to answer that question. We shouldn't be so much on the defensive. We should fight for the Party and fight for the leadership and if we can establish authority, then we can deal more adequately with these things.

Now I want to say a few words on another matter. In my opinion, the time has come where every member of the National Committee has to say whether he is willing to accept, he doesn't have to agree, the line of the Party to carry out this policy. I do not see how we can have a National Committee

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at the present time in this situation, this action from the right, from the left, and from both within and outside the Party against us. We have people who claim they have all the answers. They are going to sit it out and they are going around organizing something else. I agree that the struggle with certain comrades is mainly ideological, but where there is a breach of discipline, [redacted] ?) took care of that. In Brooklyn, you have a double situation. On one hand, they vote for the resolution and they are willing to do it, while on the other hand - - be the judge. Don't let them think they are fooling us, we know exactly what is going on and demand an answer. Are they with the Party or against the Party. The answer will not only be what they say in words but whether they are willing to join the struggle. For example, comrade LIMA has already reported what they are doing in California with those people who are resigning. You cannot fight for the Party unless you do these things. Now the same thing goes with people like [redacted] and others like (EMANUEL) BLUM or (WILLIAM) WEINSTONE. We want to know whether they are going to join us in the struggle against [redacted] and [redacted], or whether they are going to support them.

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That is why we couldn't act together at the last National Committee meeting without coming to a sharp point of view. Now in New York, certain mistakes were made because people were pulling in different directions. Mistakes were made and I think we have a good chance now for a united leadership and a united policy and we should present it to the Party.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

JACK (STACHEL ?), "I" want to say I have the highest admiration for you and your tremendous influence. "I" cannot say you brain-washed me, you got me to go along with this approach, you changed my mind when you got there. We have the struggle against extreme action, extreme views. The struggle now should be waged on the basis of application

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to work. That's the primary one. In Chicago, we decided to do something on the legal question. We called a conference and got everyone's feelings and a program. We came to the conference and the conference was derailed. Comrades, we have to remove these obstacles. Unless we do, we can't get down to work. So I think that the remarks that [redacted]?) made about setting up procedures are eminently correct. We find that people are being singularized for their political point of view. I was glad that [redacted] brought that to my attention in the document that he drafted in New York. I was very happy because I had been given an entirely different impression of [redacted]. So "I" think that we have to take organizational measures against obstacles that impede the Party getting down to mass work.

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The second thing is, we do have an ideological problem, you may have an ideological problem with me. People are thinking nowadays, thinking for themselves, I hope, and not like "parrots" but with the kind of atmosphere we've had in the Party, it is impossible to have an ideological discussion. A few things, comrades, have come out of this leadership in the past two or three years that will meet the march of time or that will stand up as a special material for this generation of Communists to hand down to the next.

Now everybody knows where I stand on the Hungary situation, yet I was compelled on Hungary to say that I thought that AP THEKER (HERB) had done the most fouled up job on that question than anything that I had seen written. HARRY HAYWOOD set out a summary, whose conclusions "we" won't agree with, but at least he went to work on the problem. He did not go at it superficially. "I" think he did a good job. The point I'm trying to get at is that the comrades are impressed with it. We have to get down to the next phase of this ideological debate and discussions and a lot of work has to be done.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

At this time, I would like to defer some remarks which I was to make. We should now be opening up on registration and we should hear from KIRSH (phonetic) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK).

Remarks of ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

We set out to register 470 and we have registered 640. We are going to bring that figure up. The problem is twofold. During this period, Cleveland has been given the main center of our - - -. We had organization in all of these centers at one time. At one time, we had three full-time functionaries. Because we had full-time functionaries in all the important areas. During this period, (activities) pretty much fell apart insofar as our organization was concerned, I mean a functioning organization. At one time, the bulk of the membership was outside Cleveland, 60 per cent outside Cleveland and 40 per cent in Cleveland, but now we have the opposite, 60 per cent in Cleveland and 40 per cent outside. The problem became one of maintaining contacts with people. This we have done in most of the places, not in all. Strikingly enough, in the mining area, in the Ohio Valley section, we have a continuing organization; continually functioning. We constituted in Youngstown a functioning organization; in Dayton, the beginnings of an organization. The last place we tackled was Columbus and we had been completely out of touch with Columbus for three years. We knew there were some people there. "I" went down there to make the contacts about six weeks ago. Informant advised that in answer to a query, KRCHMAREK answered that he had met with [redacted] whom he described as very accommodating, but he did not know him (KRCHMAREK). "I" told him that if you are not sure who the comrades have sent out to you, you are absolutely right. "I" would not have it any different. So I said, suppose you [redacted] sit down and have a meeting, and decide what you are going to do. KRCHMAREK indicated that as a result of this, 50 (?) were registered.

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The point is that during the last two or three years, "they" had been left completely on their own, this group of comrades, and most were Negro comrades. They had been subjected to the greatest terror, persecution and everything else. Politically, there are no lefts or rights, there is only one thing for them. Friends, the Soviet Union means something to them, socialism means something to them. The thing is that we have been reconstituting step by step. It has been difficult because we have one and a half functionaries to cover this territory. So the registration is not completed, but we are proceeding with it.

We have a much more favorable situation in Cleveland itself, and in the process of all the difficulty, have had a chance to sit down with all kinds of people to discuss with them and to bring back to the fold a number of people who have asked to be brought back into the Party. Some of them have already been brought back. Some of them are reviewing. The surprising thing is "they" asked me if they could come back in the Party. But they joined the Party not to join a debating club, they don't want to be members of a debating society.

According to the informant, KRCHMAREK then stated that "we" figure at least another 50 to bring it up (apparently referring to registration) and we may get more than that, bring it up to about 90 per cent.

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The main thing is what is the Party going to do. When a guy is unemployed, he wants some kind of a program. There are all kinds of questions coming up. For instance, we had a committee conference a week ago. It was supposed to be in that women's committee, but it took a highly different form. In this committee conference, we found a lot of interesting things. For example, in one section we found that a majority of the people in that section were members of one church or another. We had never paid any attention to the work in the churches in any organized form and out of this conference came the proposal that we call a conference of these people who are active in churches, in order to develop a Party program in relation to their activity in church. Some of them occupy leading positions in churches. There are numerous things that are coming out as activities are developing in the unemployed areas. I suppose you have the biggest unemployment in that area, 58,000 steel workers and only 10,000 working 40 hours a week, 28,000 unemployed, and the balance working 2 or 3 days a week. This has been going on for almost a year, a steady going down hill.

There has been a big change in attitude towards our Party. There is a demand (for instruction)--many ask what is the Party program, what are we supposed to do? This from non-Party people who remember our role in the days past. They remember us as an organization of struggles, political struggles, so they want to know.

So, the organization is functioning. We have solid people and we are building. We feel very confident that with the kind of program we are projecting now, the position of the Party will strengthen as we go along.

Informant advised that EUGENE DENNIS interrupted KRCHMAREK and asked how he could explain that more copies of "Political Economy (phonetic)" were sold than they got "Worker" subscriptions.

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KROCHMAREK stated that they had sold 40 copies and we have to get more, political economy, Soviet political economy. There is a big demand for it and the demand continues. Now, on the question of "The Worker," it is a very disturbing thing. There is a certain dissatisfaction with "The Worker" but in the last few months there has been a change in the attitude of our membership, a remarkable change of taking the paper now for their own paper and really feeling that it is their paper. We are confident that we are going to fulfill our obligations to "The Worker." There is an eagerness to get the paper. They want the paper and they think the contents are getting very good. However, there is still criticism. There is still the feeling that we do not know where we are going yet with the contents of the paper. The people feel now that we are going to build.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Comrades, we come to the question of what we have and where to move.

According to the informant, LIGHTFOOT indicated that the diminishing numbers, apparently of members, does not necessarily tell the whole story of what the Party is capable of doing. He said that it depends in a large part on the quality of the people involved. LIGHTFOOT then discussed the present registration in the Illinois area, but used the blackboard extensively to denote those registered and key people, which information was not available to the informant.

According to the informant, LIGHTFOOT discussed the Industrial Section and said they have registered the same number of people that they had before and in the course of this registration, "they" revitalized a club. He indicated that "they" (apparently Industrial Section) are the best organized group or division in the district. The only contradiction is, the Party is their mass organization.

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They have not got much as far as they've been able to do in the various craft unions. In this particular situation, you have all the articulate leading people almost all in that category.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT remarked that they had had a reception on the south side (of Chicago) for a doctor. He said there were 80 people there and these people represented a cross-section of "Who's Who." They used to be in the Communist Party of the U. S. in the Negro community. People from all walks of life. People you'd never suspect, and all of them expressed deep interest in what was going on (apparently in the Party). LIGHTFOOT added that he himself had not attended this meeting but expressed the idea that the above example indicated that the situation in the south side was not hopeless. According to the informant, LIGHTFOOT said that the problem in the Negro communities, which was typical of Harlem and elsewhere, was the question of integration, asking, "How do you integrate with the strong nationalist tendencies in the ranks of the Communist Party?" He indicated there have been people in the Communist movement from 15 to 30 years that have never been integrated in the Party.

He then referred to an unnamed woman, saying that she does not speak the same language (as he). She does not understand what it is all about and a lot of the losses we have had in the Negro community arise out of this factor. People who are not going to let me tell them that the Negro question is subordinate to everything else, because to them the solution to the problem is one of its primary purposes. They speak of themselves as allies in the struggle, but they are not working class Marxists, and this contradiction over the years is one we did not solve. This is one of the reasons why we had such heavy losses. I do not want to get into it, but I think it should bear some examination.

Continuing, LIGHTFOOT referred to other areas, apparently in Chicago, saying they had suffered grievous

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losses. He then referred to an unnamed individual with whom he has been in frequent contact, saying that this individual has come to him and said, "Listen, CLAUDE, don't tell me this, don't tell me that. I'm doing this my own way now. I listened to you before, but I am doing it my own way now." LIGHTFOOT stated that registration is good, relatively speaking. They are organized, but they are not doing very much. And, all in all, he would say organizationally "we" have declined in the last year.

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Remarks of LIMA (MICKEY)

During his talk LIMA made frequent use of the blackboard and consequently the informant was unable to obtain complete details.

LIMA spoke of the rather major losses which the Party has had in the youth category. He said that now "we've" taken some steps in East Bay and "we've" organized a youth club. He noted that the youth club has recruited four or five (members). He also remarked that [redacted] (phonetic) has gone back to give a hand on "that". He said "we" just had a meeting with San Francisco last week with a number of youth in the city and with a youth club and a youth party club. "We" have to again take hold and give some direction to "our" youth. He continued that possibly later when other things are discussed and policies are worked out, "we" can do something different, but "we'd" have to have some way to get this over and make it possible for the young people to begin to get some practice on Party work. He noted that there also can be possible recruits there. He said that in the East Bay, there is a Marxist group of about 40 and he then noted on the blackboard how many recruits this group has. "I've" had a number of discussions with the fellows and "we've" got some different opinions on the impressions "we've" had. LIMA noted that in both places, that is San Francisco and East Bay, the people have gone through a certain process in that they have worked now for a year or so with Trotskyites and "they've got it filled up to their necks(?)." He said they are beginning now to come back to the Party and some people who even had left the Party among these are now coming back into the Party. With respect to the industrial category, LIMA said "I estimate that when the total registration is in, it will total about that of New York vicinities industrial workers." He then said these figures (blackboard) show about less than half the current set up and that there are members that still have to come

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NY 100-80641

in from San Francisco in the longshore warehouse and building trades categories. LIMA continues with a discussion of losses in various categories without identifying them, apparently noting the categories in which there are losses on the blackboard. LIMA raised the question of whether "we" need a district or county forum such as "we've" had in the past. He said that they do not have the leading forces able to work directly with the main centers of production and "I've" raised the whole question at least in the Bay area. He said that he has had a combination in terms of the size involved so that the leadership if available can work in a most advantageous way and directly reach the point of production. He said that he considered that this procedure is going to breed a new kind of forum and is going to eliminate more or less economist county set up and there will be more of an area set up. He pointed out that East Bay and San Francisco are different counties, noting that East Bay is Alameda County and that East Bay and San Francisco are across the bay from each other. He then said "now we'll have a Bay area set up that will tie together those two areas and maybe Santa Clara."

LIMA then spoke of another area (apparently identifying it on the blackboard) where "we" set up a section that's kind of far flung. He noted that in this area they have their own officers, they meet regularly and their membership has almost doubled in the last year. He said "I" was amazed at the registration and also the relationship to this in terms of what these people represented. He said there was a big increase in terms of their contacts in the area such as political organizations as well as minority group organizations. He said that from being more or less an isolated grouping, "they" have made very definite progress.

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DENNIS questioned LIMA with respect to any growth in membership among Negro and Mexican workers and LIMA said "no, we are very limited in that respect." He observed that "they" are weak in terms of Mexican-Americans and Negroes.

Remarks of BILL ALBERTSON

ALBERTSON's talk was concerned mainly with membership and throughout his discussion he made frequent use of the blackboard. In view of this, informant was unable to obtain complete details.

ALBERTSON said that he did not know what "we" started with, but "I" will give you what "they" had a month ago. He then spoke of the number registered in Brooklyn, Manhattan, Bronx, Queens, Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester as of March 1. In each instance he gave no figure, but apparently noted the figure on the blackboard. His statement concerning each county would be such as this "Brooklyn registered this as of the first of March."

ALBERTSON continued with a discussion of the Up State area of New York and said that actually it had been very hard for him to find actually what exists at this time. He then spoke of the registration as of March 1, again apparently noting the number on the blackboard and said that all of those registered were in Buffalo. He said "there (Up State?) the organization has been completely shattered and what exists are individuals in certain cities." He said that in the important cities some of them get together. ALBERTSON indicated that if something was to be done about this situation, it would mean the assignment of somebody "to go up there" as quickly as possible in order to save as much as "we" can. He said that in the Buffalo area "we" do not have any serious problem because this will be achieved.

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ALBERTSON remarked that because of the increased activity of the Buffalo organization in the past six months, especially evidenced by the Party paper they are putting out, the FBI has visited the print shop and "they" said they would no longer print the paper. ALBERTSON said that the FBI visited a number of other printers and every printer has been seen so that the paper will from now on have to be printed by somebody in New York.

At this point in ALBERTSON's talk, an unidentified man asked a question which the informant was unable to furnish, but in reply JACK STACHEL said "that's right, 2100 without Up State. Yes, that's right, 2100."

ALBERTSON resumed with his talk and said that incidentally in the Buffalo area, it appears that there have been no losses. He then spoke of the problems in other communities, especially in Brooklyn and certain areas of Manhattan, making the observation "that the organization is smashed up completely." ALBERTSON remarked that "one might say" that the major contributing factor to this situation is the internal struggle as it exists. He said that the problem in a place like this is just to get somebody to go into the area and be a coordinator.

ALBERTSON continued that in other places one of the big problems is the problem of getting people to go out and get some subscriptions.

ALBERTSON spoke of the registration figures in the Harlem area of New York and observed that the registration figures were "much, much, much" lower than what existed in 1955 and 1956. ALBERTSON concluded with a reference to waterfront registration and remarked "these people are divided into three groups which are politically very important in the present structure."

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Remarks of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] observed that "we" ought to have an outlook on not terminating the registrations in the usual manner. "I" think we will have to work for the establishment of membership committees that can go back over the membership of the last two or three years to see if over a long range period, we can't draw back some of this youth that has dropped out during this part of the Party's abnormal life. He remarked that they had dropped out because of lack of contact or troubles of the Party in recent years. He suggested membership committees be set up to recontact these people, because some of those lost "are not yet really gone."

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS proposed that registrations continue throughout the year 1958 and "I" think the doors should be open to those who through no fault of their own were disconnected from the Party from the (year?) 1951. DENNIS said that there are a lot of people who have been disconnected from the Party for three, four or more years, but they would be insulted if you did not greet them as comrades. He continued that these individuals "consider themselves Communists". DENNIS claimed that they were just neglected. He said there are a lot of people "we've" not been able to approach yet and the doors should be open for all those who may have left to come back.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL made a motion that the NEC authorize the discussion and action on "these motions". He said there is much more important business that "we" have to take up here tonight.

The unidentified male (MEYERS?) asked about work in the national office being divided into districts and speaks

NY 100-80641

of finding a name for a representative. Someone suggested the name field representative. The unidentified man said "that's right. It's needed more all the time." He expressed the opinion that it would bring closer liaison between the national office of the Party and the various districts.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS made reference to the proposal in []'s report and said "I'm" not ready to move on his proposal. "I" hope to suggest without discussion the submission of a memo or letter to members of the National and State Committees and possibly the (membership?). He said "I" think it is incumbent on "us" to inform the Party on resignations that have taken place and to express an opinion. "I'm" thinking of those who have resigned from posts and "I'm" particularly thinking of those from the National Committee. Such a letter should be in possession of the NEC not only generally, but particularly to all factional groups.

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Continuation of Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

There should be some proposal to ferret (?) this one way or the other. The committee should go into it so there is a report subsequently to a higher committee. Informant advised that DENNIS was interrupted by an unidentified male, who asked if "your" committee was the one to get the facts--. On that, the proposal is to establish a committee of non full-time comrades; that is, nobody on the staff of the National or the State.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be GEORGE MEYERS

I would like to serve on that committee. I hope that HY (LUMER) will work out a system and prevent the same kind of mess from recurring. We do not want to depend on individuals whatsoever. An unknown male then asked what the composition of the committee would be, to which it was answered that the personnel would come out of the district and would be chosen by the National Committee.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

O. K., comrades, you heard the proposal. Agreed?

Remarks of [REDACTED]

According to the informant, [REDACTED] remarked that he wished the statement would add to it, within the framework of the call for unity in the Party.

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b7cRemarks of Individual Believed to be MICKEY LIMA

According to the informant, LIMA commented that if the people are in a section, that is where they work, and if they are in a state, that is where they work. He said the reason he raised this question in order to figure out some policy statement and to agree on a policy. He indicated that the Party is simply being torn to pieces because of a lack of policy and a lack of established Party procedure.

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He said that they have to show some leadership and it is not a matter of using orders or decrees, adding that unless they establish some semblance of Party organization, he did not see how they could get anybody to do any work.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

According to the informant, LIGHTFOOT indicated that when he returned to his district, he was going to be asked concerning the National Committee meeting, and that he would be asked if there was any differences of opinion.

Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant spoke and seconded the remarks of LIGHTFOOT, indicating that when he returns to his district, many questions would be asked concerning the meeting. This individual indicated that it would be necessary to differentiate what happened at the meeting and the making of a report of the meeting.

According to the informant, there was considerable discussion as to the formation of possible reports.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be JACK STACHEL

According to the informant, individual believed to be STACHEL stated that in most cases the problem is to mobilize the Party, line up the Party.

Remarks of Unknown Male

According to the informant, an individual whose identity was unknown to the informant commented that he did not know what took place in New Jersey, and DENNIS replied that four resigned from the State Committee and two resigned from the Party.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

I think we have to have a very firm and very clear policy. I think that what we should require of members of the National Committee is that they take (?) the Party position; that is, to mobilize the Party to the line of the Party. According to the informant, DAVIS also stated that in New York, they are questioning the statement of resignation of GEORGE CHARNEY, [redacted] and [redacted] DAVIS indicated that he was writing a statement of reply to show the Party the ideological necessity and the political necessity of conducting a fight.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

I suggest that we wind up with something on the Party program. According to the informant, DENNIS referred to articles that appeared in the "Times" ("New York Times") and "Trib" ("Herald Tribune") concerning the recent session of the supreme Soviet, which indicated that the Soviet Union will announce the cessation of production and tests of atomic weapons. He indicated that this was going to have a great impact on every country, and thought that it was unfortunate that they couldn't get this discussion into the present meeting. He indicated that this was a tremendous contribution towards peace and raises very concretely the demand that the tests scheduled for the Pacific, May through August, should not take place, and also the reaching an agreement of a possible summit (conference).

Continuing, the informant advised that DENNIS stated that on the current program there had been discussions a couple of weeks ago with HY (LUMER), JACK (STACHEL), JIM JACKSON and himself. He indicated that they recommended a setup of a program committee. He said that "we" propose that at the next full meeting of the NEC, there should be a report on what "we" call an editorial committee. He said

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they would allot sufficient time for basic discussion which would include a "critique" on the British program. He indicated that without the formation of an outline and the mapping of a draft, they could not make the necessary headway. He thought that the preparation of the draft program could be realistically approached by the end of 1958; that is, an actual draft of the program for discussion. He suggested that they set up a program commission and an editorial committee, in which they would devote the major part of their time to preparing the program.

"We" propose, as part of the program committee, and what "we" call the editorial committee, to include JIM ALLEN, HERB APTHEKER and HY LUMER. The rest of the program commission "we" propose CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), CARL WINTER, AL RICHMOND, SI GERSON, (MIKE) RUSSO (phonetic), ALEX BITTLEMAN, SPARKS (possibly NED SPARKS), [REDACTED], [REDACTED] BERT NELSON, PETTIS PERRY, [REDACTED] JIM JACKSON and himself. DENNIS commented that the editorial committee and the program committee could vote for an enlargement of its membership. DENNIS indicated that there was an additional or substitute proposal which would include three members of the NEC, six additional members of the NC, and eight others. According to the informant, DENNIS indicated that these proposals could be discussed further at the next meeting of the NC.

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b7CRemarks of BEN DAVIS

Well, to tell you frankly, I do not like to see things like this thrown in at the last minute. We do not have any chance to discuss personnel. I am not satisfied to just go along passively. There are a number of problems that should be discussed. I think we should have comrades with all kinds of feelings. I am not giving up the theoretical fight. But I want to see us get something done about this factional business in the Party. All I see right now is another smear campaign.

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Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant commented that the proposals made have certain merit because what is proposed is not the writing of a program but rather a preparation of some sort of a report, on the basis of which an enlarged group will sit down and discuss in concrete terms what we're going to do about a program. I think we must move on it.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

I know I feel opposition to shelve it. I think our committee was mainly sound but there might be changes.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

It took seven years to write that program---adopted in 1951, if you recall, and now they finally adopted a program, a year after convention. They finally adopted the thing on March 8. It will take us that long, too, but I think we have to get started functioning. STACHEL commented that he would propose that they accept this as is until the next meeting.

According to the informant, there was considerable discussion as to who would be on the committees proposed for the writing of the draft program.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

According to informant, DENNIS indicated that since they were unable to reach agreement, perhaps a new (report) would be made.

Remarks of Unknown Female

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant stated that at the last meeting she made a statement denouncing BITTLEMAN. She said the reason she made the statement

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was because she felt he (BITTLEMAN) had such fixed ideas that he simply stymied the committee from getting anything done. This individual added that she was not opposed to his ideas and indicated that perhaps this was a personal affair and should not be discussed at the meeting.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

I think, comrades, that at this particular meeting, we should take the minimum steps. I won't burden the comrades with a collective report and we will have a very frank discussion of the things either mentioned or heard here.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

I agree with the proposal. From my point of view, I am willing to work in the Party under difficulty--especially now--we have a lot of difficult comrades.

Meeting adjourned.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)

DATE:

MAR 31 1958

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-4049)

SUBJECT : COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
IS-C

IN USING ANY OF THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE UTILIZED TO PREVENT COMPROMISING THE INFORMANT.

22-New York (Info.) (REGISTERED MAIL)

100-26603 CP, USA

100- COMINFIL INTO THE IUE

100- "POLITICAL AFFAIRS"

100-80638 CP MEMBERSHIP

100- LYL

100-80641 ORGANIZATION

100-89590 CP STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY

100- CP LINE

100-

100-

100-

100-

100-

100-

100-

100-

(LNU): age 35, white, male,
Brooklyn

100-

100-

100-

100-

(LNU); age 25, white, male,
vegetarian, Bronx address, telephone
number OL 5-3774

100-

100-

7-Newark (100-4049)

100-4284-E ORGANIZATION

100-4284-D MEMBERSHIP

100-37012 COMINFIL INTO THE IUE

100-4284-KK CP LINE

100-35535

100-

RFH:emt (29)

100-95588-470

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 2 1958	
FBI-NEW YORK	

NK 100-4049

Source:

Reliability: Has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity: as shown.

Date Received: 3/17/58

Agents To Whom Furnished: SA JOSEPH J. MAC FARLANE and
SA RAYMOND F. HOYLE

Location:

b7D

Informant furnished the following written report which is set forth in its entirety. It can be located in Newark file .

"The formation of an IUE Division by the Brooklyn Communist Party was heralded by two articles in the official party magazine 'Political Affairs' in the issues for April and May of 1952. These articles were entitled 'Some Problems of Work in Right-Led Unions, I and II,' by John Swift. The same John Swift wrote three other articles which elaborated the CP position on work in 'Right-Led' unions, 'The Left-Led Unions and Labor Unity, I and II', and 'The Ford Local Union Election.' A few quotes from these articles reveal quite effectively the CP position. It is noted that the 'left-wing unions' lost ground to the Right-wing because of 'the failure to struggle consciously for the minds of the workers...' The Ford Local 600 election proved, 'that is possible to establish and consolidate progressive-led coalitions within Right-wing led unions despite all attempts of the reactionary officialdom to dislodge or destroy them.' 'At this stage the most important thing is that the Communist workers... through their Party organization.. understand the need for winning the workers, from below...' 'The main problem is precisely that of finding the forms of transition.. to the formation of coalitions including progressive and Left-wing workers..the concrete ways and means by which to change the situation in local by local and union by union.'

Party leaders - [redacted] and [redacted] reported to [redacted] the recent formation of a Brooklyn CP IUE division in the fall of 1952. A. B. was assigned to this division and instructed to report to [redacted]. It was suggested that A.B. organize an IUE shop club consisting of Party members employed by the Hammarlund Mfg. Co. on 34th Street, N.Y.C. (A.B. was also employed there.) [redacted] suggested to A.B. that she contact the following Party members:

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[redacted] about 25, white, male, [redacted], Manh.
[redacted] mother of [redacted]

[redacted] a former member who refused to rejoin (30 Joralemon St., Bklyn.)

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[redacted] about 35, white, male, [redacted]
[redacted] Bronx 52, N. Y. (formerly worked for G. E. Upstate N.Y.)

At the same time A.B. was instructed to form an LYL club in the same shop and told to contact the following LYL members:

[redacted] ? - about 35, white male,
[redacted], Bklyn., in charge of LYL IUE shop clubs.

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[redacted] about 25, white, female, [redacted]
[redacted] Manhattan. A.B. thought (and thinks!) her to be immoral and irresponsible and recommended that the Party refuse her membership.

[redacted] about 35, white, male, [redacted]
[redacted] N.Y.C., [redacted] formerly with Party and League groups in Pennsylvania.

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[redacted] about 30, Negro, male, [redacted]
[redacted] was not interested in being part of LYL club, attended 2 or 3 meetings and quit.

[redacted] about 25, white, male, vegetarian!
Bnx address, phone OL 5-3774, attended League meetings.

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As club president, A.B. met with other club presidents in the IUE division, which included [redacted] and [redacted], about 30, Negro, male, Bklyn., phone

NK 100-4049

PR 2-4631, formally quit the CP in 1953. A.B. has seen him socially since, he has disavowed any interest in or sympathy for the Party. K.W. may well be contacted for information about the CP.

As part of IUE division function, a party class was organized to study all phases of Marxism in an intensive effort covering a period of about two months. A.B. was sent to [redacted] white, male, about 35, [redacted], Bklyn., NI 5-6746, for purpose of joining this group. A.B. recalled one other student of this group:

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[redacted] white, male, about 25, [redacted]
Bklyn.

As recently as December, 1957, party leaders in New Jersey reported to A.B. that the current strength of the Party lies in shop clubs of form and function referred to above. These are the most 'security conscious' groups in the CP and most often have no connection with local community groups. When Party people from these groups win positions in the union, they formally sever ties with the CP but maintain effective CP membership by secretive relationships with 'high' trusted Party leaders."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-95583)

DATE: 4/3/58

FROM : SA [] (12-15)

SUBJECT: CP, USA-LINE
IS-C

Source []

Characterization Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date Received 3/2/58

Received By

SA []

Location

100-95583 1B-1(2)

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On 3/2/58, [] furnished a signed three page memorandum obtained by him at a meeting held at Estonian Hall on 3/2/56. He described this affair as a meeting of the "true left" of the Communist Party.

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This memorandum is titled "On Uniting and Strengthening the Party and Its Mass Work" (Resolution submitted by E. DENNIS) adopted by National Committee- February 15, 1958." This memorandum sets forth a number of things which the National Committee considers should be done and appears to represent the present party line.

Attached to this three page memorandum was a one page memorandum titled, "Resolution On JOHN GATES - Adopted by National Committee- February 15, 1958." This resolution sets forth the National Committee's explanation for the resignation of GATES and his condemnation.

This information was previously furnished to the Bureau by Section 19.

1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-80640) (NEGRO QUESTION) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES)
1 - New York (100-87211) (FACTIONALISM, NAT'L.) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-7629) (COMMUNIST INFILTRATION, NAACP) *sub*
1 - New York (100-89590) (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (19-1)
1 - New York (100-79717) (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (19-1)
1 - New York [] (CIFU) (12-15)
1 - New York (100-95583) (19-1)

PJB:ajk

(9)

100-95583-469

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814)

Date: 4/30/58

FROM: SA NEIL P. DIVERS (19-2)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION.
IS-C

UTMOST CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN THE REPORTING
OF OR OTHER USE OF ANY OF THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NY 2179-S*,
SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE
IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

①-New York (100-95583) (Party Line) (19-1)
1-New York (100-128821) (Factionalism) (19-2)
1-New York (100-7629) (Comfil-NAACP) (7-1)
1-New York (100-128812) (Political Activities) (19-2)
1-New York (100-89590) (Strategy In Industry National) (19-1)
1-New York (100-128823) (Domestic Administration) (19-2)
1-New York (100-132430) (NY District-Industry) (19-0)
1-New York (100-128809) (Strategy In Industry) (19-2)
1-New York (100-12481) () (12-10)
1-New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (19-2)
1-New York (100-50094) () (19-2)
1-New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (19-1)
1-New York (100-52959) () (12-11)
1-New York (100-13203) () (7-1)
1-New York (100-84275) (W.L. PATTERSON) (19-2)
1-New York (100-13336) () (12-15)
1-New York (100-9595) (WILL WEINSTONE) (19-2)
1-New York (100-27452) () (19-3)
1-New York (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON) (12-15)
1-New York (100-128814)

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7 NPD:ngb
(20)

100-95583-477

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 30 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

19-1

NY 100-128814

On 3/31/58, NY 2179-S* advised that a meeting of the New York State Board was held in the Second Floor Board Room at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC, on that date. The meeting lasted approximately 7:54 p.m. to approximately 11:20 p.m.

Those in attendance, according to the informant, included the following:

[redacted]
WILLIAM ALBERTSON
[redacted]
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS JR.
[redacted]
[redacted]
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
[redacted]
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

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NY 2179-S* advised that the principal talk was given by one [redacted] on the recent AFL-CIO conference on unemployment which he attended. More than half of the meeting was devoted to a general resume of what took place at that conference. Toward the end of his talk, [redacted] declared that it was his feeling that the Party should recognize the 8 point program adopted by the conference. He stated that this would be a tremendous opportunity for the Party today. He asserted that the Party must learn to work within the framework of whatever is initiated by the labor movement. [redacted] S comments were followed by a general discussion concerning the unemployment situation.

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According to the informant, [redacted] stated that the government is of the opinion that the tax cut in going to solve everything and help end the recession. [redacted] further stated that "we" would be making an error if we put any emphasis at all on the demand for a tax cut and "we" should not lay ourselves open to the accusation that we misled the workers by advocating this thing.

NY 100-128814

NY 2179-S* advised that WILLIAM WEINSTONE proposed that the Party contact the Liberal Party, the CIO, the ADA, and the NAACP, so that joint efforts might be made to get one million signatures for Senator KENNEDY'S Bill or for joint action to insure Congress will pass this bill.

[redacted] according to the informant, asserted that it was his belief that the Party's program on unemployment will be one of the most important things the Party has done in relation to mass work.

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Subsequently, after a person who was believed to be [redacted] by the informant, interrupted [redacted] who had been speaking for a few moments, a heated argument broke out between the two during which [redacted] used abusive language and called [redacted] a chauvinist. A proposal was made by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS JR., and voted on in favor of requesting that [redacted] withdraw his filthy language and that the chauvinism charge against MORRIS be rejected. According to the informant, [redacted] replied, "I will retract nothing."

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BEN DAVIS then announced that the Supreme Court had on that date (3/31/58) upheld the contempt sentence against HENRY WINSON and GIL GREEN and that as a result of the decision, [redacted] would be returned to jail.

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According to NY 2179-S*, toward the end of the meeting, an unidentified male stated that the coming issue of "The Worker" will have two full pages, possibly 3, devoted to PAUL ROBESON.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814)

DATE: 1 MAY 1958

FROM: SA DANIEL F. GARDE

SUBJECT: CP, USA - NEW YORK DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

UTMOST CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE REPORTING OR OTHER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NY 2179-S* SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 3/27/58, NY 2179-S* advised that a New York State Staff Meeting took place on that date in the Second Floor Board Room at CP Headquarters, NYC, between 11:30 a.m. and 2:35 p.m. BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR was chairman of the meeting.

Among those believed to be in attendance where the following:

GERSON, [REDACTED] WILLIAM WEINSTONE, BIFF ALBERTSON, SIMON W. and possibly ARNOLD JOHNSON.

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- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-13473) (ST GERSON) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-99369) ([REDACTED]) (12-11)
- 1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-128812) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (19-2)
- 1 - NY (100-128314) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT - FUNDS) (19-1)
- 1 - NY (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON) (12-11)

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COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

1 - NY (100-128814)

DFG:emp
(29)

100-95583-472

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-128814

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY (100-) (FNU DODDS who attended United
Socialist Front meeting in March,
1958, per NY 2179-S* on 3/27/58) (7-6)

1 - NY (100-) ([redacted] LNU who attended United
Socialist Front meeting in March,
1958, per NY 2179-S* 3/27/58) (7-6) b6
b7C

1 - NY (100-61928) [redacted] (7-3)

1 - NY (100-79299) [redacted] (7-3)

1 - NY (100-4013) (SWP) (7-3)

1 - NY (100-129859) (SOCIALIST UNITY COMMITTEE) (7-3)

1 - NY (100-116907) (American Socialist Clubs) (7-3)

1 - NY (100-8522) (ALP) (7-2)

1 - NY (100-) ([redacted] (ph.) who declined
attending United Socialist Front
meeting in March, 1958, because
Communists present) per NY 2179-S* 3/27/58
(7-6)

1 - NY (100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (19-1)

1 - NY (100-128815) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT -
NEGRO QUESTION) (19-2) b6
b7C

1 - NY (100-128809) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT -
STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (19-2)

1 - NY (100-128816) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT - NATIONAL
GROUPS) (19-2)

1 - NY (100-128821) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT -
FACTIONALISM) (19-2)

1 - NY (100-25780) (CORLISS LAMONT) (12-16)

1 - NY (100-50094) [redacted] (19-2)

1 - NY (100-128813) (CP, USA - NY DISTRICT - PAMPHLETS
and PUBLICATIONS) (19-2)

1 - NY (100-26603-042) (CP, USA - NY COUNTY) (12-15)

1 - NY (100-26603-043) (CP, USA - KINGS COUNTY) (12-11)

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DAVIS announced the agenda for the meeting as follows:

1. Elections
2. ROBESON's book
3. Budget

Outlined below is a summary of, and excerpts from some of the more significant statements made by the speakers:

GERSON gave a report on his attendance at a United Socialist Front meeting "last Wednesday". He mentioned that Socialists, Trotskyites, and Communists were present. GERSON's talk centered around the political race for the Senate seat in New York State by [redacted] and THOMAS K. FINLETTER.

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GERSON related that the following were among those who showed up at the meeting: "DODDS, [redacted] [redacted]" (all names phonetic).

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He mentioned that quite a few of the old followers of the ALP did not show up and that it was explained that [redacted] (ph) did not show up because he would not meet with the CP. GERSON stated that what "they call the United Socialist Ticket", which, they said, represents all Socialist Parties, -- (includes) an independent for governor, a Communist for Lieutenant Governor, and a Trotskyite for Comptroller;

GERSON cautioned against letting the Party be caught flat-footed by lack of a proper approach while the Trotskyites are busy consolidating their concepts into a state-wide ticket.

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GERSON remarked that he thinks "you can unite what's left of the old ALP forces". He expressed regret that the Party was branded in the 1952 campaign as a Party having nothing to do with democratic action.

In a discussion that followed, WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that he felt that the Party should center its efforts on "a peace ticket" in place of the United Socialist Front ticket, and should decide on the candidate who would back the "peace issue."

WILLIAM ALBERTSON was the next speaker. He outlined some of the items contributing to the strength of the Liberal Party movement in the past. He commented on the advantageous effect to the Liberal Party of its defending the idea of running a Negro (as a candidate) for United States Senator. He pointed out that because of its view in this particular matter, the Liberal Party has got to receive "our support". He added, however, that that does not mean "we will follow the Third Party movement".

ALBERTSON expressed the belief that the Party itself might look for a Third Party Negro candidate. He spoke of the need for drawing a lesson from the disunited and confused state of the Party in connection with its electoral policy in the last elections.

He pointed out that a problem to be dealt with is that within the ranks of the Party and of the left movement generally, there is not a full understanding or a full acceptance of what the Party means when it speaks of an anti-monopoly coalition. He attributed confusion and resistance to this concept in some

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measure to the failure of the Party to fully elaborate, spell out, or fight for it. He pointed out that there is not only lack of understanding within the Party on this most important aspect of political policy, but there are outside influences which are operating on the Party and within its ranks, undermining that concept and putting into contradiction to it "a much narrower approach on the United Socialist ticket along the lines SI (GERSON) indicated".

He complained that whereas the Party is in a position to influence the left, the situation in many areas it is actually reversed, and the influence is coming upon the Party from others without serious challenge or debate. He warned that many, both within and outside the ranks of the Party, are being influenced.

He declared that there is a need for the Party to examine its position, unify its thinking and to take appropriate steps to identify itself with a definite, concrete, broad policy. He feels that in that way the Party could "knock the props from under those who speak of a United Socialist ticket, and contrast that to the broader movement which the Party is trying to develop".

He stated "now I don't see yet where we have that whole analysis, both from the point of view of the relation of forces within the Democratic Party". He then stated ".....within the Liberal Party, and I think the points BILL (ALBERTSON) made are good, but require much more than that. We've got to really get to the bottom of that picture and direct it in a way that will be convincing.

"Likewise, as far as us having to get into a

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trade union question, the Negro question, Puerto Rican question, a picture which was really a composite of the political thinking and currents which are moving in this city, and then speak in terms of an anti-monopoly coalition, and speak in terms of concrete issues and movements and candidates, you'd have some question involved, and that, I think, would take the wind out of the sails of those who have been putting forth an unrealistic and narrow approach, which would divide us in the developing of the political line of this state."

ALBERTSON cautioned against becoming diverted from the main course by the problem created by those who have caused havoc and confusion primarily amongst the left and the left-union people.

ALBERTSON concluded his remarks with the suggestion that the Party have a series of ideological discussions in order to arrive promptly at some position on these matters.

BEN DAVIS agreed with ALBERTSON on the need of an analysis and estimate of the Party's position as to its approach to the election campaign. He cautioned against repetition of halting and feeble efforts made by the CP in the last elections.

After some discussion of the developments in the Socialist movement, DAVIS spoke of the CP's "need to get inside that (Socialist movement) with certain definite objections, and I think that foremost in this objective is to achieve a certain anti-monopoly consciousness which will secure as an ideological basis for the electoral anti-monopoly coalition".

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DAVIS expressed the opinion that it was of outstanding importance that the Liberal Party has come forward with the idea of (RALPH) BUNCHE, as a candidate and stated "and it will make a great big difference if in some time past, we had properly orientated our Party into known relations with the Liberal Party and participated in the Liberal Party".

An unidentified male then spoke and questioned the possibility of the Liberal Party bringing about an anti-monopoly program.

DAVIS replied that he felt that all possibilities should be exhausted toward having the Liberal/Party accept a full time platform.

DAVIS then commented on the appropriateness of a candidate such as RALPH BUNCHE. He later indicated, however, that he has no serious objection to the candidacy of CORLISS LAMONT, whom GERSON had earlier stated had been proposed at the United Socialist Front meeting.

DAVIS stated that on the question of a United Socialist ticket, he could not see the Communist Party united with the Trotskyites on such a ticket, since he feels the Trotskyites have interests that are too narrow. DAVIS does, however, think that it is necessary to maintain contact with these people and to continue discussions with them, and to "try to influence them along the lines of our policy."

DAVIS feels that there should be early discussions in an effort to set up an estimate of the Party's position and to establish direction to its movement.

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DAVIS expressed opposition to a United Socialist ticket, not only because of the Trotskyites' participation, but because he feels that the CP should have a program of its own. Such a program should be a peace program. He stated that he does not, however, exclude all thought of agreement along certain lines with the United Socialist ticket, excluding the Trotskyites.

ALBERTSON proposed that the Party be in agreement with the United Socialist group, and further, that a full discussion of this matter be held at a Board Meeting on a later date. He also suggested that a committee consisting of BEN (DAVIS), SI (GERSON), BILL (ALBERTSON), and either ARNOLD (JOHNSON) or [REDACTED] prepare a report for presentation at a Board Meeting on a later date.

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Following this discussion, GERSON left the meeting.

PAUL ROBESON

With respect to the second point on the agenda, ROBESON's book, BEN DAVIS gave a presentation in which he stated that the Party had not been doing what it should in pushing circulation of this book. DAVIS suggested that the Party concentrate on the following four angles:

1. ROBESON's birthday on April 9, 1958
2. ROBESON's passport fight
3. The book itself
4. ROBESON's concert

DAVIS stated that the Party should attempt to accomplish 100,000 sales of the book throughout the

NY 128814

country and stated that he felt that " a mass distribution of this book will be a powerful turn in the whole Negro Movement".

He spoke of the Party's responsibility for distributing at least 3,000 books in New York and of getting out a bulletin on the book (by ROBESON).

WILLIAM ALBERTSON then stated that there has been an official invitation to PAUL ROBESON to appear at the Shakespearian Theatre Festival in London in June. He remarked that there is a movement in England to have ROBESON come to Britain.

He declared there are friends in New York working among the artists in order to get a petition asking the President to participate ~~in~~ in the Shakespearian Festival (to grant permission to ROBESON) ~~in~~."

DAVIS mentioned that there are many anti-Communist forces among the Negro people who are now speaking highly of, and are recommending ROBESON's book. He stated that the the Baltimore Afro-American (ph) is serializing the first two chapters of the book.

DAVIS mentioned that (ROBESON's) concert is scheduled at Carnegie Hall on May 9, (1958). He commented that the implications of this "for us" were that there would be a big attendance, therefore, a big political demonstration.

suggested that Brooklyn would secure books on its own without any direct participation in purchases through the State Office.

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ALBERTSON then commented on plans for house parties for ROBESON on the weekend of April 12, the purpose of which would be to push sales of ROBESON's book. He stated that there was a possibility that ROBESON might be able to visit briefly a number of these house parties providing he is in town at that time.

ALBERTSON stated that so many people outside the Party had backed the book, the Party should certainly not hesitate to push it. Among suggestions offered, he suggested taking a full page ad in the "New York Times".

A lengthy discussion ensued concerning various means of stimulating sales of ROBESON's book.

WEINSTONE suggested that there was a need for someone to be in charge of the program in Brooklyn, and someone for Manhattan, in order to guarantee a wide sale of the book so that it would not become a routine affair.

With respect to the next item, the budget, this matter turned out to be a question of procedure. After considerable discussion, it was decided that the matter of the budget should be taken up by the finance committee at the meeting to be held on a later date, and that thereafter it should be taken up at a meeting of the staff and county organizers.

7.B.5/13.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC NEW YORK (100-95583) # 7-5

DATE: 5-9-58

FROM : SA THOMAS J. DEVINE

SUBJECT: CP USA

LINE

IS #8

NY 2017-S* who was in a position to furnish reliable information, provided on 5-5-58 a four page document maintained at CP Headquarters (NY State) 23 West 26th St., NYC.

This document was captioned "To the Members of the C.P.-U.S.A." This document urged all members to dedicate themselves to the principles of Socialism.

The original of this information is located in 100- 4931-1A710. A photograph of this information is attached to this memo and a photostat of the information is attached to the copy designated for factionalism. Care should be taken to protect the nature and the identity of the information.

CC: 1 NY-100-87211 (Factionalism) # 7-5

100-95583-474

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED 305	FILED 305
MAY 9 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

To the Members of the C.P. - U.S.A.

Dear Comrades:

It is well for us American Communists to pause sometimes in our daily rounds of activities, to consider who we are and what we are trying to do. We are people who have dedicated ourselves to the principles of Socialism in the greatest citadel of capitalism in the world today -- the United States of America. We want to see Socialism replace capitalism in our country, not in some remote future but as soon as possible. We are people who have dedicated ourselves to the best interests of the American working class and of all oppressed minorities within our country, all who suffer segregation, discrimination and violence. We care about what happens to the poor, the unemployed, the underpaid, the overworked - those who suffer exploitation and insecurity. We are pledged to fight for the liberation of those who are in prison for their labor activities or political views or as the result of criminal frame-up. We are peace-loving people, dedicated to make this world a safe and happy place for people to live. We are people dedicated to international solidarity of all peoples and we rejoice in the tremendous spread of Socialism throughout the world. In the 35 years since our Communist Party was born in Chicago, a dozen major countries, totalling more than one-third of mankind, have abolished capitalism and are building Socialism. We rejoice with the newly liberated colonial peoples, numbering 700 million, who have secured their national independence. In this year 1958 it is obvious that Socialism is on the upgrade in the world and capitalism is on the decline.

We know we cannot live on our past Party history alone. But it is well for us to recall that it is an honorable one in the struggles of the American people. In the fight to maintain civil liberties in the 20's, for the unemployed in the 30's, against fascism in the 40's, and always to build unions, to secure the full equal rights of the Negro people -- we were in the forefront. In the last decade our Party has spearheaded the fight for the Bill of Rights - against the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Taft-Hartley Law, Loyalty tests and all forms of McCarthyism. Thirty of our leaders were imprisoned and three - Gil Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash, are still there. Hundreds were arrested and tried around the country. These struggles

are not over -- as witness the 6-year sentence of Junius Scales in North Carolina on a Smith Act membership charge. The Taft-Hartley conspiracy convictions of coven in Cleveland, Ohio may lead to similar attacks in six other cities.

Mass unemployment is a growing problem in our country today. The struggles of the Negro people for their right to vote in the South and for integration in schools and housing, are vital democratic issues of 1938. Similar problems of Spanish-speaking people loom large. Anti-Semitism has recently flared into violent attacks in several places. The existence of labor unions is menaced by so-called "Right to Work" bills in seven Western states today.

No issue is too local for us to be concerned, if it affects the welfare of the people. No issue is too gigantic for us to tackle it, if the lives and security of the people are at stake. Ours is a self-imposed responsibility. We can never lightly lay it aside. It is with us every hour, no matter where we are, in our contacts with our families, our fellow-workers, our friends, our neighbors, the people of our city and of our country. No one denies that we have made our share of mistakes. Only those who do nothing never make mistakes, Lenin wisely said. But in continued devotion to our principles, in continued activities for our purposes, in continued agitation for Socialism, we will correct our mistakes and move forward. If anything demonstrates the effectiveness of our past work, it is the implacable hatred of the ruling class and their mouthpieces, which is evident today in the recently published book of J. Edgar Hoover, attacking the Communist Party. Nothing will fully satisfy them and appease their fears except the suppression or dissolution of the Communist Party. So far they have failed to accomplish this, though they have attacked us unceasingly on all fronts, from without and from within. Imagine the joy of all reactionaries here and throughout the world, if in this last great stronghold of capitalism, the Communist Party ceased to exist. Imagine the concern and sorrow of struggling people here and elsewhere to hear that there is no longer a Communist Party in the U.S.A. This can never be. That day must never dawn.

- 3 -

Conditions today are creating the grim necessity for struggle -- for peace, for jobs, for the rights of labor and the Negro people, for civil liberties, for action in the coming elections. Our Party has a big and continuing contribution to make in this critical time as it always did in such periods past. Comrades, the time is overdue for unity in action. Too long we have spent valuable time in needless delay. We know our tasks. We are not a debating society. We are not a holding operation until "something better" comes along. The decisions adopted at the 16th convention a year ago were sound in all the main problems confronting us. No one contended that they were perfect or settled everything forever. But they formed a platform to pledge to each other: - "The Party is here to stay!" It is gratifying that J. Edgar Hoover admits at least that the Communist Party could "overnight expand into a mass organization of great potential power."

The past period has been a trying one for all of us. We have been beset by inner strife and immobilization. Misgivings and doubts were bred by this condition. It must come to an end. Some have deserted our ranks. Some are sitting it out - "waiting to see what happens." No real Communist should do that. In all organizations, ours especially, majority will must prevail. Let us agree on areas of all possible unanimous co-operation. Differences can thus be ironed out. A few have betrayed what they once purported to believe. We can spare them. Very good people were lost in the confusion through no fault of their own - not being seen or contacted. We must make a painstaking and patient effort to bring these back and to hold all honest and sincere comrades in our ranks. We must all work together to bring new people into our Party in this fateful year of 1953.

Our recently elected N.E.C. is not new. It is a leadership working now as a team, of comrades known to all of you, tested in struggle, admitting to past mistakes, and trying to correct them. But above all we are determined to save our Party, to pull it out of the doldrums and to put it back into all fields of action. Alone we can do little or nothing. With your co-operation and support, we can all together undo the harm of past lethargy, root out factionalism, unite all our Party districts, get out

much needed literature, hold public meetings, defend our Party against illegal court attacks, build our Press.

We ask you, dear comrades, to faithfully consider: Are all the evils of capitalism we have agitated against abolished? Has capitalism become acceptable to the American working class? Is there no more unemployment, no poverty, no slums, no inequalities, no injustices? Does capitalism guarantee peace, abundance for all, security? When it does all this we can say our Party has only a past, has outlived its usefulness. But capitalism can never do these things. Only Socialism can and is establishing such guarantees. Therefore, let us strive to realize it in our time and in our generation for the best interest of the American people.

In plain words -- all this means let us to work. Re-register all members, see all one-time good comrades and re-unite them to our Party. Hold club meetings and collect dues regularly. This is the life blood of the organization. Subscribe to, support and distribute The Worker. Distribute national and state leaflets and if the occasion demands, issue your own. Hold neighborhood forums wherever possible on timely topics. We have plenty of good speakers in our own ranks. We do not need to always run after some outsider. Help publicize and popularize our views on all important subjects. Hold informal house meetings where conditions demand. No matter how small these are extremely valuable.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/13/58

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS
INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY
PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
(1- 97-401)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
- 2 - Detroit (100-2050)(CP,USA-ORGANIZATION)
(1- 100-13420)(CARL WINTER)
- 1 - New York (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-1696)(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-23825)(BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-27452)([REDACTED])(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-47142)(UNITED MAY DAY COMMITTEE)(#7-1)
- 1 - New York (97-169)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(#7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-74560)(CP,USA-FUNDS)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-87211)(CP,USA-FACTIONALISM)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-81495)(HARRY HAYWOOD)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-16785)(JAMES E. JACKSON)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-32826)(JIM ALLEN)(#7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80640)(CP,USA-NEGRO QUESTION)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-52959)([REDACTED])(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-85936)([REDACTED])(#20-11)
- 1 - New York (100-99369)([REDACTED])(#20-11)
- 1 - New York (100-25857)(PAUL ROBESON, SR.)(#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-95583)(CP,USA-LINE)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-18402)([REDACTED])(#7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-131666)(CP,USA-SOUTHERN REGION)(# 7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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NY 100-80641

On 4/9/58, NY 2179-S* advised that on above date, an informal discussion was held in the third floor board room, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. According to the informant, the following individuals were believed in attendance:

EUGENE DENNIS
JACK STACHEL
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.
[REDACTED]

and possibly two other unidentified individuals.

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Informant advised that EUGENE DENNIS opened the discussion by referring to the resignations, apparently in California, and DENNIS indicated that "they" would submit a draft to the council--.

Continuing, DENNIS also referred to the pending May Day celebration, where he expressed the thought that possibly 3,000 people might be in attendance. DENNIS mentioned that they might have one or two short petitions placed on each seat, which he said might "generate" activity for the Party. (It is to be noted that the May Day celebration is scheduled to be held at Carnegie Hall, NYC.) Informant advised that DENNIS, in answer to a query, said, "I" do not propose that anyone at the G-- D--- meeting sign it (petition?). He indicated that the petition would call on the governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to ban the "blowing" of the bomb. (Apparently, DENNIS is referring to H-bomb testing.)

Continuing, informant advised that at the meeting, there was some discussion as to possible speakers at the May Day celebration, where apparently BEN DAVIS is to be one of the speakers and DAVIS had proposed that GENE (DENNIS) would also speak. Informant advised that a discussion was had pertaining to the scheduling of section conferences and DENNIS

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expressed the thought that the conferences would have a good political and psychological effect in districts "who are in bad shape" (apparently referring to morale). DENNIS suggested that possibly there would be a midwestern conference as well as a conference in California. He proposed that there be an eastern conference to be held 5/10 and 11/58, and also proposed that there would be a National Committee meeting held 6/21, 22/58 (apparently in NY). DENNIS said that the expenses would have to be borne by each state. (Informant speculated that DENNIS is referring to the fact that each delegate would have to get his expenses for the meeting from the districts represented.)

According to the informant, DENNIS then spoke concerning "The Worker," commenting that it would be desirable to have a "separate building" and then commented, "Why shouldn't they move in, there is enough space." (Informant advised that DENNIS apparently is referring to "The Worker" moving into CP Headquarters.

REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that with regard to moving "to this place," "I" take the position, all things being equal, "I" favor a place where workers could come and "The Worker" ought to have a place to enable them to be open evenings and Saturday mornings because "there are people who will come to that building (35 East 12th Street) who will not come here" (CP Headquarters).

Continuing, STACHEL stated that from the point of view of the problems "you have here of saving this building (CP Headquarters?), let's go save it because all we're going to do is get a tenant who would not pay rent."

Continuing, STACHEL stated (it) (moving of "The Worker") will not solve "the problem of this building."

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He indicated, however, that if the staff of "The Worker" agrees to moving, he was not going to be obstinate.

REMARKS OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that he did not know from the point of view of cost, what the moving would mean; remarking, that it could conceivably increase the cost (of the building) by paying two rents. [REDACTED] estimated that the cost (on blackboard) would be this amount, which figure was not available to the informant, and [REDACTED] remarked "getting your hands on that (amount) is no small thing."

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REMARKS OF EUGENE DENNIS

According to the informant, DENNIS stated that it was not going to be a simple matter but thought that the question should be discussed and said, in his opinion, "they" would have to make a decision.

REMARKS OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

FLYNN stated that psychologically, it was very important to get "these people out of that room" (The Worker Staff). She said that with the empty desks, it was like a morgue, like an old house, old furniture, with everything reminding them of the dead. She said it would be better psychologically to get out of there, into a clean place, into a different atmosphere. She remarked that it would be better to get them out of "there" and "closer to us." Otherwise, we are going to have trouble and I do not think "I" am exaggerating.

REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

Informant advised that JACK STACHEL then spoke concerning a document, apparently written by HARRY HAYWOOD. STACHEL, apparently referring to HAYWOOD's article, stated

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that he (HAYWOOD) quotes (JIM) JACKSON to the effect that today the Negro Question has become largely one that expresses itself in the industrial worker. STACHEL remarked that he (HAYWOOD) "exploits" legitimate weaknesses and said that this document could only come about because of the difficulties of the past year since the Convention. He said that there were a whole number of questions that were left unanswered with the result that a lot of Comrades are in a mood to criticize everybody and he indicated that the Comrades would probably "fall" for this document and for all these reasons, the document becomes very dangerous. It cannot be treated by somebody writing another document, pitting one document against the other. "I" think the document should be treated only on the following two bases:

1. That "we" do take steps to mobilize the Party, to show what role we have to play in the struggle. (Informant advised that STACHEL did not mention what his second point was.)

STACHEL stated that the first thing that ought to be done is to "set up a Negro Commission" and a program of action should be worked out. A number of meetings should be organized, which may be wider than just the Negro Commission. It should include JIM ALLEN, BEN (DAVIS) and (JIM) JACKSON and perhaps they can separate the factional element from the theoretical questions.

REMARKS OF BEN DAVIS

There are some people who have a healthy attitude toward the leadership of the Party and some who have not. Some feel that we are all a bunch of G--D--- bureaucrats. "We" ought to call these people in and talk to them.

Continuing, DAVIS remarked that one aspect of the document is that it has been in circulation several

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weeks before the (official?) document was given to him by HARRY (HAYWOOD?) two days ago. So the document has already been used for several weeks to mobilize Comrades and apparently it has received (support?) of a number of the Comrades. "We" had a meeting of the Negro Question in NY in preparation for a Negro statewide conference and "I" mentioned the document and pointed out that "I" felt that the Party did not completely define position on the Negro Question but for the first time, is now in a position to develop a well defined position on the basis of the National Committee's action. "I" consider the document essentially "sectarian." I learned that [redacted] and BILL PATTERSON accept this document and agree with its "line." DAVIS indicated that some Comrades were charging that "we" were trying to substitute the ROBESON book (PAUL ROBESON) for the Party's line. DAVIS said that "we" have the HAYWOOD document being used as the theoretical and political backbone for the (faction?) for the Party. DAVIS said that he classifies the document as an illegitimate exploitation of the weaknesses of the Party.

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REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

"I" think that the first thing to be done is to assign every member of the National Committee to a Subcommittee. We have to get into the habit of making assignments and should set aside three or four hours just to go over the list of the National Committee members setting up these Subcommittees and assigning responsibility.

REMARKS OF EUGENE DENNIS

"We should kick it around." "I" think that some of the members of the National Committee should be assigned. DENNIS then, apparently referring to [redacted], remarked, as a National Committee member in Brooklyn, "What is he doing to strengthen the Party, to build the Party? What is his contribution in the

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NY 100-80641

"state? Members of the National Committee, what do they contribute as a solution to the problems in their own area? The contributions they can make are not being made.

REMARKS OF ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

There are a number of people who are complete "misfits." Really, I wonder how in the name of GOD they got into the national leadership. It is more than I can understand. Informant advised that DENNIS interrupted and remarked, "There is a lot of them." Continuing, FLYNN remarked, "they" do not know what to do, and any little suggestion we send them from "here" they do it with pleasure.

REMARKS OF EUGENE DENNIS

There is a problem that has to be handled with great tact. DENNIS then said that now we come to the last point, personnel. DENNIS asked if there were any further ideas on the way to begin.

REMARKS OF BEN DAVIS

Well, "we" have to recognize that we are not going to get another [redacted]. (Informant advised that discussion pertained to a replacement for [redacted] as Organizational Secretary.) "I" would go for JACK (STACHEL?) but I am not enthusiastic about CARL WINTER - definitely not. Although I know that there is no one who has more administrative equipment than CARL WINTER.

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REMARKS OF [redacted]

What would you say to [redacted]?

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REMARKS OF BEN DAVIS

He is a very capable ideological Comrade but he would have to have developed and have had more experience.

REMARKS OF [REDACTED]

I know a little about his work. You are quite correct. He [REDACTED] would have had to have grown very considerably. Of course, we would have to talk with JIM (JACKSON?) some more and with other people.

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REMARKS OF JACK STACHEL

First thing, we will have to talk to him. "I" tried to locate him last night but he was not home. I will try to make an appointment with him not later than the end of this week. We will have to talk with him and then we will know what is what. I think he has the capacity and the ability. I talked to somebody since I first thought about it but they weren't certain what happened to him within the last two years. They don't see him too often, someone that worked in the south (It is believed that STACHEL is referring to [REDACTED]'s activity in the South during his underground period.). It depends on two things, whether he is politically sound and willing to take it (the job). (STACHEL indicated that there might be a second person as an assistant but did not indicate any preference.) According to the informant, STACHEL then asked [REDACTED] how much "time" he has left. How much did you actually serve, and [REDACTED] indicated that he had served 17 months. Continuing, according to the informant, STACHEL remarked and apparently directing his comments to [REDACTED] said that actually the work you [REDACTED] are doing is Executive Secretary and said, what is needed is an assistant to attend to organization, membership, finances and administration. You need a person who can do this type of work. A person to organize conferences, to

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follow out views and work plans. Informant advised that the meeting ended with EUGENE DENNIS asking [redacted] when his report on the NEC would be ready and [redacted] indicated that he would try to have it ready soon.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128815)(7-6) DATE: 5/13/58

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (12-15)

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SUBJECT: CP, USA,
NY DISTRICT
NEGRO QUESTION
IS - C

Source	[REDACTED]
Characterization	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Concealment	Conceal and paraphrase to protect identity
Date of Activity	4/25, 26/58
Date Received	4/30/58
Agents	ROBERT C. HAINES & [REDACTED]
Location	[REDACTED]

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Attached hereto is a copy of information received orally from the informant as above indicated. This information was subsequently reduced to writing and the original was signed by the informant.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (CIFU-INVEST.) (12-15)
 - 1 - NY 100-26603 (CPUSA, NY DISTRICT) (7-6)
 - 1 - NY 100-26603C42 (CPUSA, NY COUNTY) (12-15)
 - 1 - NY 100-128821 (NY DISTRICT - FACTIONALISM) (7-6)
 - 1 - NY 100-95583 (CPUSA - LINE) (7-5)
 - 1 - NY 100-128822 (NY DISTRICT - EDUCATION) (7-6)
 - 1 - NY 100-128809 (NY DISTRICT - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (7-6)
 - 1 - NY 100-26603 C1214 (NY DISTRICT - HARLEM) (12-15)
 - 1 - NY 100-26603 C1892 (NY DISTRICT - LOWER HARLEM) (12-15)
 - 1 - NY 100-61072 [REDACTED] (12-10)
 - 1 - NY 100-88013 [REDACTED] (12-14)
 - 1 - NY 100-60640 [REDACTED] (12-11)
 - 1 - NY 100-79025 [REDACTED] (7-5)
 - 1 - NY 100-87995 [REDACTED] (7-5)
 - 1 - NY 100-84147 [REDACTED] (12-15)
 - 1 - NY 100-25840 [REDACTED] (12-15)
- (Copies cont'd)

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YGM

100-95583-476

7-5

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAY 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-128815

Copies Cont'd

1 - NY 100-81794 (HALOIS MOORHEAD) (12-11)
1 - NY 100-126206 () (12-11)
1 - NY 100-85936 () (12-11)
1 - NY 100-99369 () (12-11)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-16895 (JAMES JACKSON) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-54555 (EVELYN WIENER) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-106914 () (12-15)
1 - NY 100-13336 () (12-15)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-25857 (PAUL ROBESON) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-91911 (JESSE GRAY) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-67234 () (12-15)
1 - NY 100-111666 (JACK SHULMAN) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-92572 () (12-11)
1 - NY 100-81495 (HARRY HAYWOOD) (12-11)
1 - NY 100-128815 (CPUSA, NY DISTRICT-NEGRO QUESTION) (7-6)

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NY 100-128815

April 30, 1958.

Re: New York State Communist
Party Conference on Negro
Work, April 25-26, 1958

The New York State Communist Party held a
Conference on Negro Work on April 25 and April 26, 1958
at Yugoslav Hall, New York City.

The April 26, 1958 session was from 10:00 AM
to 6:15 PM with a one hour lunch break at 1:15 PM.

There were approximately 110 individuals in
attendance at this session of whom the following were
known or identified to me:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Halois Moorhead and husband

[REDACTED]

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Eugene Dennis
James Jackson
Evelyn Wiener

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Ben Davis
Paul Robeson, Jr.
Jesse Gray

[REDACTED]
Jack Shulman
[REDACTED]

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The speeches made at this session were apparently based on a speech made by Ben Davis at the Friday evening, April 25, 1958, session of the conference. Paul Robeson, Jr. acted as Chairman of the April 26, 1958 session.

From listening to the various speakers, it was determined that the main points of Davis' speech were that a strong position must be taken concerning the Negro people as a nation. Negroes must be placed into leading positions in the unions. Unfair employment practices against Negroes must be eliminated. There must be integration of Negroes in the educational system and barriers preventing children from one section of New York City from attending school in another section must be eliminated. Discrimination against Negroes in housing must be broken down. People in the Party should strive for unity and must resolve their differences and fighting between themselves. The first question to deal with in building the Party is the Negro question.

During the conference it was brought out that Harry Haywood had submitted a long article concerning the Negro question. This article was attacked by several of the speakers who said it was all theory and wouldn't work.

The following comments were made by some of the speakers.

[redacted]: He was amazed at the present caliber of thinking in the Party. The Party was not trying to correct ills and were attacking each other instead of formulating a program.

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[redacted] The Party must be the vanguard of the working people.

Jesse Gray: He is responsible for the Party in Harlem.

[redacted]: The Paul Robeson book is good and the program set out in the book is good, however

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not for the Party. The program is not deep enough and doesn't show enough fortitude. The Party needs a program of its own on the Negro question.

[redacted] He accused the CP, USA of breaking up the CP of Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican question is as important as the Negro question and the Party is not taking any views on the Puerto Rican question. (aside from [redacted] that only nine Puerto Ricans registered in the Party in New York City during the last registration). [redacted] said he intended to raise the Puerto Rican issue and the Party could expell him but he would be back. He agreed with Paul Robeson's book and not with the remarks of [redacted].

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[redacted]: He defended [redacted] and said she had a right to express her opinion. Said he was tired of repetition and the various factions in the Party. Asked were they here to count heads or to work.

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[redacted] The Party is the vanguard of the working people. There must be integration of the Negro people in the educational system. The Communist Party needs young people. She suggested a program around young people in New York City. The city should set up a camp to get kids off the streets.

Halois Moorhead: The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people. It is time for the Party to get to work and become active.

Paul Robeson, Jr.: (very disjointed) The Party must have unity and stress housing, education and employment as the major issues.

Ben Davis: Said he was used to being called names and was not bothered by this. The Party must get to work. He defended the National Committee of the Party against the remarks of [redacted].

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Signed

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: 5/13/58

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS
INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED
AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 5 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
 - (1-100-3-81)(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
 - (1-100-3-91)(NATIONAL GROUPS)
 - (1-100-3-75)(NEGRO QUESTION)
- 2 - Cleveland (100-) (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(RM)
 - (1-100-) (HY LUMER)
- 1 - New York (100-86624)(INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-54651)(NATIONAL GROUPS)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80640)(NEGRO QUESTION)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-27452)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-9595)(WILLIAM WEINSTONE)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-23825)(BENJAMIN J. DAVIS)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-15078)(HY LUMER)(#7-6)
- 1 - New York (100-128814)(NEGRO QUESTION - STATE)(#19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-95550)(PAUL ROBESON, JR.)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-91711)(JESSE GRAY)(#12-11)
- 1 - New York (100-9369)(TED BASSETT)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-24616)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-42479)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-93651)(#12-16)
- 1 - New York (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (97-169)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(#7-1)
- ① - New York (100-95583)(LINE)(#19-1)
- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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JAC:bfh

(27)

100-95583-477

duh duh

JAC

NY 100-80641

The following is a report of the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC), Communist Party, (CP) USA, held in NYC, on 4/23/58, as reported by NY 2179-S*:

According to the informant, EUGENE DENNIS was Chairman and those believed in attendance were:

[REDACTED]
HY LUMER

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WILLIAM WEINSTONE

BEN DAVIS

One unidentified male (possibly ARNOLD JOHNSON)

JAMES JACKSON

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS opened the meeting with a discussion of the fact that there would be a full NEC meeting on (May) 9, 10 and 11. He remarked that GEORGE (MEYERS) would come in on the 8th, and that MICKEY (LIMA) has said that he could make the meeting. He observed that ELIZABETH (FLYNN) would not be present on the 9th and 10th, as she is leaving San Francisco next weekend for the Northwest and then from the Northwest is returning to San Francisco.

Baltimore and San Francisco have been advised separately concerning LIMA and MEYERS.

DENNIS then discussed recent events in Yugoslavia. He said that on the basis of the very limited excerpts he has seen of TITO's speech, he would not attempt to go into all the points, but that coming at this late date, opposition of the Yugoslavs to the basic conclusions set forth in the Twelve Party Declaration presents a challenge. "That which we saw after the Hungarian events and the efforts of the Yugoslavs to create a breach in the socialist camp..."

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He then said "I" have the impression "that Gates and Company was able to make considerable use of this" in justification of their attitude toward the Soviet Union. He proposed that as soon as "we" get some authoritative article, it should be published in "Political Affairs". He said the article should be published "whether it's in French or Italian or whatnot" and "I" am inclined to think that "we" can make it first. "Actually from some other source...".

Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] followed with a discussion of the Yugoslav situation and stated that what had been achieved especially by the Twelve Party document was an overcoming of the rift spreading within the socialist camps. He expressed concern over the stand of the Yugoslavs influencing other countries and in this connection specifically mentioned Hungary, Poland and China. [REDACTED] remarked (apparently speaking of TITO) "I am impressed by his sectarianism and his dogmatism and the question of apathy toward the Soviet Union."

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Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

Informant advised that WILLIAM WEINSTONE then gave a report on a meeting of the Jewish commission and among other things commented on the fact that (apparently at this meeting) there was discussion on the failure of the Party to react to anti-semitism. He said there were bombings recently in Miami and other places. He noted there was a feeling of concern that this issue, which is not a Jewish issue, but a general issue of the Party, was not being taken up by the non-Jewish comrades or by the Party itself.

WEINSTONE then said that he had recommended that "they" elect a subcommittee to discuss with the NEC

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two questions: 1. an overall discussion on the Jewish question...2. the disposition of their part in it in regard to the resignation of ten of the Jewish commission.

He continued that he had pointed out (at this meeting) that the Party has in the last year been engaged in a life and death struggle and that this matter would necessarily absorb the attention of the Party leadership and has only been (resolved) recently at the last (meeting) and a degree of stability has been established. Consequently, it is now possible for the Party to handle a number of matters which have been delayed.

WEINSTONE urged that the Party act quickly and skilfully with relation to the Jewish comrades in order to make them feel that they are part of the Party movement and do not remain isolated. He noted that "they" (apparently referring to the "Morning Freiheit") will succeed in raising \$175,000 and "they", therefore, are still a substantial force among the Left (group).

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS expressed the opinion that there should be a further exchange of views on the Jewish question and an offer should be made to bring out the best way procedurally to "come to grips" with this serious work. DENNIS said that he was not so sure "we" should have a Party statement. He expressed the opinion that it would not be very helpful to state "all this thinking" on the question of the role of Israel, the question of Russia and the situation in the Middle East. He concluded that the Party should not have an official statement right at this moment.

Remarks of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

DAVIS said that there should be a Party line on this subject and it should not be left to the Jewish comrades

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to "just react" without some Party position on the subject. He said that "you have to have a duly constituted committee and you can not get along with some group of comrades who have become known as the Jewish commission of the NEC."

Continuing, DAVIS referred to a statement made by KHRUSHCHEV on the Jewish question and remarked "I know what he is driving at. I think I do," but you do have an entirely different consideration of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union....but to just make statements on a characterization of the Jewish people with no relation to how this question is taken up and recorded in the capitalistic world is "just really out of this world". (DAVIS may have been referring to a statement attributed to KHRUSHCHEV, which appeared in the "New York Times" issue of 4/1/58.

DAVIS said that having read the entire statement he "now knows" what KHRUSHCHEV is driving at and "if I have to speak on a street corner, I would say KHRUSHCHEV is damn good." DAVIS continued "we" have a quite different problem involving Negro and Jewish rights and the problem should be solved in some form which does not involve carrying on a campaign against KHRUSHCHEV but does not lessen the position of taking note of conditions which exist in this country.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON spoke of the problem of what are the remaining areas of anti-semitism and what forces are at work on the problem. He said that "in any event it behooves our Party to find a national policy on the Jewish question." He asked "what is the Party's Communist position on the Jewish question in New York State?", and continued "we don't have one and haven't had one for a number of years". He noted that it has been a long time

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since "we" entertained a critical examination of all the organizations, programs, policies, etc, operating in the Jewish field.

Remarks of Unidentified Male
Believed to be ARNOLD JOHNSON

JOHNSON stated that the Jewish commission has to be "armed with us in the fight for equality" and "we" shouldn't have comrades in it who have the wrong ideas and a wrong orientation.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS suggested that a small committee be set up with "key ideas" and that a commission be set up after a determination of where the comrades stand on the Jewish question. He suggested a committee of "maybe three or four people" and recommended that two or three of them be from the national office and one from the state office. He remarked that "the committee or commission is to give leadership to Jewish work and everything that comes up on the question is to come before that commission". He continued that the NEC must somehow take the leadership in this work on a daily basis. "We've" got to decide certain things..."The Freiheit writes an editorial on KHRUSHCHEV, who's going to tell them, who's going to cooperate with them like we conferred with the Daily Worker?"

DAVIS said that this right now is the biggest and most dangerous area of the work of the Party in this field. Yet "they've" got nobody helping them along for correct Party positions to the best of our ability without discussing the whole thing on a day to day basis. "We" couldn't operate this way, "we've" got to have some apparatus, some way of giving "them" help on the formulation of policy on events as they arise.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS agreed that such a subcommittee should be formed and said that a subcommittee is to meet with the Jewish commission as many times as it finds it necessary and "it will also meet with comrades in mass organizations."

There was further discussion on this subject and it was agreed that a subcommittee of four or five members should be formed.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS then spoke of Negro problems such as housing and trade union oppression. He suggested PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) and JESSE (GRAY) for the State Negro Commission. With reference to JESSE, DAVIS remarked "I'd like JESSE very much on the State Commission because I should have told you guys he has developed beautifully..."

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS (apparently continuing with the discussion of a Negro Commission) indicated that there would be separate commissions, state and national, and then began to enumerate what may be the membership of a committee. He mentioned JIM (JACKSON), BEN (DAVIS), TED (BASSETT), [redacted] and [redacted]. He then said "of course you'll have to enlarge this". He continued with a discussion of the question of factionalism and stated that if anyone circulates documents or engages in characterization assassinations, it will automatically mean suspension from the Party pending hearings.

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DENNIS concluded the meeting with a statement "let's not continue the discussion. It won't reach the West coast not even the Party before the NC meeting takes place."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-87211) DATE: 5/8/58
 FROM : SA [REDACTED] (12-15) b6
 b7C
 SUBJECT: CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
 IS - C

Source	[REDACTED]
Characterization	Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Concealment	Conceal and paraphrase to protect identity.
Date and/or Description of Activity	"Ultra Left" meeting held 4/13/58
Date Received	4/14/58. 4/18/58
Received By	SA [REDACTED]
Location	[REDACTED]

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 b7D

- 1 - (NY 100-128821)(Factionalism, NY District)(19-2)
- 1 - (NY 100-128815)(Negro Question)(19-2)
- 1 - (NY 100-80640)(Negro Question)(19-1)
- ① - (NY 100-95583)(CP, USA, Line)(19-1)
- 1 - (NY 100-26603)(CP, USA, DIST. #2)(19)
- 1 - (NY 100-26603-C1892)(Lower Harlem Section CP)(12-15)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (CIFU)(12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-81865) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-79115) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-13336) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-13293) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-100606)(Mrs. [REDACTED]) (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-86971) [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - (NY 100-85434) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-131892) [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-87211)

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PJB:htc

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100-95583-478

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

NY 100-87211

Attached hereto is a copy of information received orally in Spanish as indicated above and translated into English by the writer. This information was subsequently transcribed in Spanish on 4/14/58, by the writer and the original copy signed on 4/18/58, by the informant. A copy of this report is being made part of this serial.

Copies: (Cont'd)

- 1 - (NY 100-116385) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-127918) [redacted] (12-15) b6
- 1 - (NY 100-131786) [redacted] (12-15) b7C
- 1 - (NY 100-62900) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-81495) (HARRY HAYWOOD) (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-114961) (MRS. HARRY HAYWOOD) (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-131714) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1 - (NY 100-132473) (MRS. [redacted]) (12-10)
- 1 - (NY 100-48836) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - (NY 100-96983) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - (NY 100-124555) [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - (NY 100-4119) [redacted]
- 1 - (NY 100-94029) [redacted] (12-11)
- 1 - (NY 100-86516) [redacted] (12-15) b6
- 1 - (NY 100-105373) [redacted] (12-15) b7C
- 1 - (NY 115770) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-120091) [redacted]
- 1 - (NY 100-69527) [redacted]
- 1 - (NY 100-95097) [redacted] (12-15)
- 1 - (NY 100-49583) [redacted]
- 1 - (NY 100-84052) [redacted] (12-10)
- 1 - (NY 100-127430) [redacted]
- 1 - (NY 100- [redacted]) (UNSUB; Negro; male; attended CP "Ultra Left" Meeting, 4/13/58, 40 East 7th Street, per [redacted])
- 1 - (NY 100- [redacted]) (UNSUB; Negro; male, Dominican from Brooklyn; attended CP meeting at home of [redacted], NYC, 4/8/58 and "ultra-left" meeting 4/13/58 at 40 E. 7th St., NYC, per [redacted])

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NY 100-87211

Utmost care must be taken in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

On 4/14/58, [] advised that on 4/13/58, he attended an "Ultra Left" meeting of the Communist Party, held at 40 East 7th Street, NYC, NY.

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Informant on 4/18/58, identified photographs of []

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[] and ISADORE BEGUN, as being present at the "Ultra Left" meeting held on 4/13/58, at 40 East 7th Street, NYC, NY.

On 4/18/58, [] identified a photograph of [] as being identical with [] (LNU), and a photograph of [] as being identical with "Unsub; white male; age 40, 5'10"; brown hair; wears glasses; chairman of CP 'super left' meeting held 3/2/58, at Estonian Hall." Information pertaining to [] (LNU) and "Unsub, white male" was disseminated in memo captioned, "CP, USA, FACTIONALISM, IS-C", dated 4/1/58.

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Informant identified a photograph of ISADORE BEGUN as being identical with [] (LNU) and a photograph of an Unsub, Negro, male, as being identical with Unsub, Negro, male, Dominican, from Brooklyn, who attended CP meeting at home of [] NYC, 12/8/57. Information pertaining to [] (LNU) and "Unsub, Negro, Male, Dominican" was disseminated in memo captioned, "CP, USA, LOWER HARLEM SECTION, IS - C," dated 1/9/58.

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Informant also identified a photograph of "Unsub, Negro, Male, who attended CP 'Ultra Left' Meeting, 4/13/58, 40 East 7th Street", as accompanying "Unsub, Negro, Male, Dominican, from Brooklyn".

NY 100-87211

4/14/58

Sunday, 4/13/58, there was a meeting of the "ultra left" of the Communist Party at 40 East 7th Street, which began at one thirty in the afternoon.

There were present 37 persons of whom 9 were women and 28 were men. There were present:

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. Mrs. [REDACTED]
4. [REDACTED]
5. [REDACTED]
6. [REDACTED]
7. [REDACTED]
8. [REDACTED]
9. [REDACTED]
10. [REDACTED]
11. HARRY HAYWOOD
12. Mrs. [REDACTED]
13. [REDACTED]
14. Mrs. [REDACTED]
15. [REDACTED] (LNU)
16. [REDACTED] (LNU)
17. [REDACTED] (LNU)
18. [REDACTED] (LNU)
19. [REDACTED]
20. [REDACTED] (LNU)
21. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] was the chairman during which time there were distributed two documents titled in English, "The Struggles of the Fraternal Communist Parties Against Modern Opportunism", issued by the James W. Ford Section Committee, Lower Harlem, NY; the other titled, "For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question", written by HARRY HAYWOOD.

NY 100-87211

During the meeting those two documents were discussed as well as other topics. [redacted] [redacted] told me that he had tried to call [redacted] and [redacted] so that they would come to the meeting.

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b7c

[redacted] told me that [redacted] (LNU) had been a leader in the Bronx, but he no longer was.

/s/

ACU
5-2

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1392)

5/15/58

SA [] (12-15)

b6
b7C

LOWER HARLEM SECTION
CP, USA
IS - C

Source

Characterization

[]
Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

Concealment

Conceal and paraphrase to
protect identity.

Date and/or

Description of Activity 4/13/58

Date Received 4/14/58

Received By

SA []

Location

100-26603-1A6952

b6
b7C
b7D

On 4/14/58, [] advised that on 4/13/58, he attended a meeting of the "ultra left" faction of the Communist Party held at 40 East 7th St., NYC, NY. He stated that at this meeting, which was attended by 37 persons, there was distributed a 24 page document entitled, "The Struggles of the Fraternal Communist Against Modern Opportunism," indicated thereon as authored by "D. SHEVLYAGIN (Translated from the 'Communist Issue No. 18')", and "Issued By: The James W. Ford Section Committee, Lower Harlem, N.Y.C."

A photostatic copy of this document was furnished to the Bureau by the Chicago Division by airtel dated 3/27/58, captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, FACTIONALISM, INTERNAL SECURITY - C".

Channelization to files of individuals, who attended meeting on 4/13/58, is being done by separate memorandum.

- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA, Factionalism) (7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-86624) (International Relations) (7-5)
- ④ - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA, Line) (7-5)
- 1 - [] (CIRU) (12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C1392) (12-15)

b7D

PJB:fef
(6)

100-95583-479
7-5
Gib

SAC, NEW YORK (100-123314) (#7-6)

MAY 20 1958

SA DANIEL F. GARDE

CP, USA-NEW YORK DISTRICT-ORGANIZATION
IS-C

UTMOST CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED SHOULD IT BECOME NECESSARY TO REPORT OR OTHERWISE DISSEMINATE ANY OF THE INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NY 2179-S* SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 5/1/58, NY 2179-S* advised that an informal gathering of persons met on that date in the second floor board room of CP Headquarters in NYC from approximately 11:30 a.m. until about 12:45 p.m. The gathering was attended by WILLIAM WEINSTONE, WILLIAM ALBERTSON, [redacted] and by BEN DAVIS, who joined the group at approximately noon time.

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b7c

The meeting started as a general discussion with WEINSTONE commenting that he had read in a German newspaper that the Party should, in its propaganda (explained by WEINSTONE as "meaning education") stress the teaching of dialectical materialism.

- 1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-129529 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-99369 [redacted] (#12-11)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA-LINE) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-123322 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-EDUCATION) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-123314 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-FUNDS) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-123321 (CP, USA NY DISTRICT-PARTICIPATION) (#7-6)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-543 (CP, USA-KINGS COUNTY) (#12-11)
- 1 - NY 100-123314 (#7-6)

b6
b7c

DFG:RCM
(11)

100-95583-480

7-5

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO SAC, CLEVELAND
FROM SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: CP, USA
BRONX CO.
IS-C

5/21/58

Identity of Source [redacted] who has
furnished reliable
info in past (conceal)

Description of info 4/10/58

Date Received 4/30/58

Received by SA [redacted] (7)

Original located [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting
the following information in order to protect the identity
of the informant.

2- Cleveland (RM)

(1-100-4212) (HY LUMER) (Info)

1- [redacted] (Invest) (7)

1-New York (100-128796) [redacted] (12-10)

1-New York (100-12481) [redacted] (12-10)

1-New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-1)

1-New York (100-62881) [redacted] (12-16)

1-New York (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON) (12-15)

1-New York (100-133346) [redacted] (12-10)

1-New York (100-95583) (CP Line) (7-0)

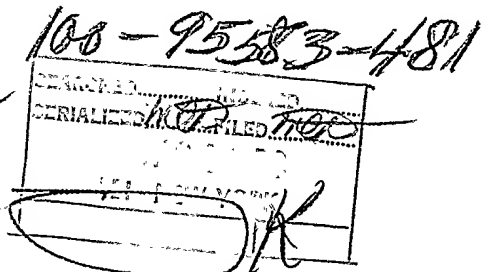
1-New York (100-89179) [redacted] (12-10)

1-New York (100-26603-640) (CP Bronx) (12-10)

1-New York (100-102025) [redacted] (7-0)

b6
b7C
b7D

JPH:rmv
(13)



NY

By report dated 4/21/58, [] furnished information regarding a membership meeting of the Bronx County CP held 4/10/58, at the New Terrace Garden, NYC.

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A copy of informant's report follows:

<u>Report</u>	<u>Communist Party U.S.A.</u>	<u>April 21, 1958</u>
	<u>Activities</u>	<u>New York.</u>

A Bronx County C.P. membership meeting was held on April 10th, 1958 at the New Terrace Garden in the Bronx, N.Y.

Some 50 members were present at this meeting.

[] (member of the Bronx County Comm. C.P.) [] the meeting.

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b7C

The [] of the Bronx County Committee C.P. [] told the meeting about the sub drive of The Worker. He said that the sub quota for the Bronx County is now only 350. That the Bronx Secured only a little over 100 subs. He asked the members of the C.P. to go out and get subs so "we should reached our quota by May 1st." He also asked the members to subscribe tonight, to leave their subs with [] [] was sitting at a table with [] [] was giving out tickets for the Paul Robeson birthday party which will take place on April 25th, 1958 at the Embassy Ballroom, Bronx, N.Y. She was also giving out tickets for the May 1st meeting which will be held in Carnegie Hall on May 1st, 1958. [] was ready to take subs for the Worker)

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NY

[] made an appeal for "a small collection" for the purpose of placing a May Day greeting ad in The Worker in the name of the Bronx County Communist party.

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b7C

On this appeal \$20.00 was collected. [] member of the Bronx County Comm. C.P. told [] that the County Comm. will about \$30.00 more-to have a "big May Day greeting in The Worker."

[] the [] announced that the "Second and the last" May Day Conference will be held on April 22nd, 1958 at the Adelphi Hall in N.Y.C. He asked the Bronx Communists to "mobilize the Bronx people for the May Day demonstration in Carnegie Hall" [] was giving out leaflets on May Day at her table) and he asked everyone to attend Paul Robeson's birthday party on April 25th.

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The main speaker was Hy Lumer. He spoke on the "present economic crisis."

He told the meeting that "in spite of the cheerfull predictions of Eisenhower there were more than 25,000 more unemployed workers in March" and that "if we will figure the totaly unemployed and the part time employed workers the country has now some 7 to 8 million unemployed workers." He said that there are areas in the country that "reached full bloom depression. The decline is continuing. There will be a long period of depression -

NY

Maybe worse than it is now." He underlined that "actually there is no cure for depression, for economic crises in capitalist countries. By its very nature capitalism must go through periodic depressions. There is no economic depressions in the Socialist Countries. Only Socialism can do away economic crises." He spoke at length on the "causes of prosperity during a few years after the war: people had money and they needed and were buying many things. There was a big boom in housing. People were automobiles. There was lots of money because of the uge military expenditures."

He criticized the democrats "for blaming the depression on the Eisenhower Administration" as an "election trick."

He stated that "the labor movement is alarmed over the economic depression and the millions of unemployed" but he criticized labors program of increasing the purchasing: "It is not a realistic, progressive program. It is a program of guns and butter."

Lumer said that in time of "an economic crisis stabilizers are helpfull but they do not away with the cause of depression." An economy based on war expenditures is not the solution. We pay for armaments in the form of inflated prices and high taxes." Lumer underlined that the "peoples program" at this time "should be based on peace not on war." The demands should be "a tax cut for workers, not a general tax cut; ending of discrimination in employment which in times of depression becomes a big

NY

issue; government control of prices - if monopoly Capitalism can not produce at lower prices let the government take over production; restoration of trade with the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist Countries; the reduction of spending for arms and to increase the spending for social welfare, etc., etc." Speaking on the restoration of trade with the Socialist countries Lumer underlined that "many countries throughout the world are more and more breacking down the barriers of trading with the Socialist World. Trading with the Socialist World will eliminate unemployment in our country. It will not abolish depression but it will easy up the depression. Only Socialism will forever eliminate depressions."

He also underlined the importance of "organizing the unemployed," of "fighting against the state laws of 'the right to work.'"

Lumer concluded his talk with: "We, Communists, have to lead the American workers, the American people to fight for a program based on peace not on war, based on butter not on guns."

There was a short discussion after Lumer's talk.

agreed with Lumer that "only Socialism can eliminate unemployment and economic depressions."

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NY

These are the main reasons for us to fight for a Socialist America."

[] proposed the issuing of a leaflet on the economic crises by the Bronx C.P. for a distribution in the Bronx neighborhoods and to "entergrate trade Union and Community organizations for discussions of the economic crises."

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There were a few short remarks made by some others in the audience agreeing with Lumer on the "cause and cure of an economic crises" and on "an immediate program of a peoples fight against high prices and unemployment."

J. MORRIS

MTA

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/13/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS
INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY
PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 5/6/58, NY 2179-S* advised that there was a meeting held on that date in the third floor board room, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC.

According to the informant, EUGENE DENNIS was chairman and the following members of the NEC were in attendance:

JAMES JACKSON
[REDACTED]

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b7C

BEN DAVIS
JACK STACHEL
HY LUMER

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 - (1-100-3-81) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
 - (1-100-) (CP, USA - LINE)
- 2 - Cleveland (RM)
 - (1-100-) (HY LUMER) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-27452 [REDACTED] (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-32826 (JIM ALLEN) (7-2)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - LINE) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-80641

b6
b7C

JAC:kmi #7-5
(17)

*File
JAC*

100-95583-482

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>duh</i>	FILED <i>duh</i>
MAY 13 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JAC

NY 100-80641

There was also present an unidentified male believed to be JIM ALLEN and possibly others.

The informant advised that the meeting appeared to be concerned entirely with work of the Party Program Committee and the individual believed to be JIM ALLEN gave a lengthy preliminary report.

ALLEN opened with a discussion on the different forms of the political movement in the approach to socialism. He noted that the Chinese showed the need for the dynamic relationship conditioned by both the world relation of forces and the turn of domestic relations. He referred to the Twelve Party Declaration and said it was drawn up in consultation with leading parties in the socialist camp. He expressed the opinion that the declaration sets up safeguards against the revisionists.

ALLEN continued that "drawing up the program we must give due consideration to the experiences of the socialist world regarding the non-socialist countries." He observed that all kinds of concepts of what constitutes socialism are arising in public discussion, "Time-worn concepts of all kinds as well as new ones."

He remarked that there are some who speak of Marxism as if its Leninist development had never taken place and then (apparently referring to the American situation) said that the concept of socialism is vague and sloganized. He further remarked that "The basic law defined in the Twelve Party Declaration" adds up to a definition of socialism as it has developed and progressed in the present day world. He then said "This should serve as a basis for (our) definition of socialism" and that it should be put into American terms and adopted. He spoke of elements of the definition and, among other things, advocated that there should be included the fact that public ownership of the basic means of production would make possible production for use instead of profit. He cited the "opposite trend" away from nationalization among the social-democratic forces in other countries and specifically mentioned the British Labor Party.

NY 100-80641

ALLEN then discussed the situation in the United States and said "For example, we have various forms of public ownership today, elements of economic planning, but this does not mean that they have elements of socialism which only need to be developed further (to) full fledged socialism." He continued that "They do reflect the higher level of socialization" and centralization of control. He indicated that further factors would be necessary before "they" can be transformed into socialist elements noting that it is necessary to have a clearly stated, unambiguous definition of what "we" mean by socialism. He further indicated that in this manner a greater unity could be achieved among adherents to socialism on the basis of the Marxist perspective.

ALLEN said "we" should be extremely sensitive to the constant internal pressures diverting "us" from an objective Marxist assessment of events and particularly the constant pressure of opportunism. He continued with a discussion of the concept of "peaceful transition" quoting that portion of the CP, USA Constitution which states "We advocate a peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process." He indicated that for pragmatic purposes this (needs ?) considerable elaboration as to the concept of what "we" mean by "peaceful, democratic" and "the developing constitutional process."

ALLEN indicated that in the process of discussion of the concept of "peaceful" (transition) "we" cannot present the question as if the favorable world trend amounts to a guarantee of peaceful transition, as is sometimes done. He spoke of the struggle required here and now to establish and safeguard the prerequisites for a peaceful transition. He said that it was of particular importance to "us" to guard against a concept that has the effect of stifling the militant, vanguard (role of the Party ?). He indicated that the peaceful transition requires revolutionary Marxist leadership.

NY 100-80641

ALLEN spoke of the transitional government which would first emerge and said that "at its full development such a transitional government would be led by the working class.... having socialism as their common goal....." adding that "This does not necessarily mean that transitional government will be reached in one long trek..... there may be a number of road stations along the road." He continued "Perhaps there will have to be a number of coalition governments before labor emerges as the leading force in socialism." ALLEN then observed "We must direct our attention to what is required to build up an anti-monopoly coalition."

ALLEN continued with a discussion of how socialism can be achieved in the United States. In this connection he remarked "Needless to say I'm not advocating for America to tie in with the Socialists but merely that they critically examine some of their compositions to see if they can see what can be done. The Communists propose that peoples democratic government has a transitional government that will open the road to Socialism...." He expressed the opinion that the idea of democratic control, including "nationalization and dismantling" is also pertinent but "it must be approached with caution."

ALLEN concluded that there should be discussion at all stages of preparation (of the Party Program) adding that the Program cannot possibly be prepared without such discussion. He indicated that questions would be prepared and suggestions solicited from the NEC, NC and all others involved on the Program Committee; this to be used as a basis for work on the Program. He indicated that for the completion of this task there should be a National Program Committee formed, commenting that he was not trying to "evade anything".

NY 100-80641

Following ALLEN's report there was discussion of some of the points mentioned in it:

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant commented on "our peaceful transition" and, in this connection, stated "I think the idea should be stressed there that the greater the power of the mass, the less likelihood of violence." He continued "If the emphasis is placed on the enhancement of the power of the mass, this makes logical the insistence on leaning to militancy."

This individual, then spoke of the Party Program and mentioned the Yugoslav Party (CP) and the fact that the resolutions in 1952 were written by (MILOVAN) DJILAS. He recommended that these resolutions be read as it is "hair raising" (referring to the questions of revisionism and opportunism).

JAMES JACKSON spoke on JIM ALLEN's report and indicated that one of the tasks of the Committee (Program Committee) is to set a standard in style of (presentation); to evolve a unique, readable language that is "as American as ham and eggs." He expressed the opinion that the classical phrases used by the Party have been one of the problems of "our alienation."

JACKSON concluded that the language of the report should be "pared" in terms that apply to the American situation.

[redacted] commented that "It would be interesting to do a little research on the various other situations where naturalization has taken place." He said that characteristically the opposition of small business to monopoly is based on the idea of the defense of small business in breaking up the trusts and yet "I" think its quite possible to demonstrate that the real interest of small business does not lie in this direction alone but in "an anti-monopoly program...."

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NY 100-80641

He concluded "the working class must see its struggle as an anti-monopoly struggle."

JACK STACHEL then took up the discussion and said that the necessity of developing the vanguard party of the working class "just has to find its place in our program." He continued "for example could there be demands that we put forward for expansion of production which is directed not toward strengthening monopoly capital but for strengthening the working class people, their living standards, their organization and which is a prize of struggle and not something which is given to the masses on the basis of reforms.... if we could become identified with the champion....it's the key through which we could break isolation, get the ear of many millions...."

EUGENE DENNIS said he did not have much to add and the discussion then turned to what informant believed to be a discussion of enlarging the membership of the NEC. DENNIS said that he would like for the present to keep the membership down to 17.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (12-10)

DATE: 5/29/58

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (12-10)

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

Identity of Source [REDACTED]

(POTENTIAL SECURITY INFORMANT)
(Conceal)

Reliability

Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

b6
b7C
b7D

Date of Activity 5/6/58

Date Received 5/8/58

Agent Receiving

SA [REDACTED]

Location [REDACTED]

1- [REDACTED] (PERSONAL ATTENTION) (INV.) (12-10)
1-NY (100-80638) (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP & RECRUITING, DISTRICT 2) (19)
1-NY (100-13447) [REDACTED] (19)
1-NY (97-169) (WORKER) (7)
1-NY (100-47142) (MAY DAY ACTIVITIES OF CP) (19)
1-NY (100-60640) [REDACTED] (12-12)
1-NY (100-95583) (CP, USA, PARTY LINE) (19)
1-NY (100-6906) (YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE) (19)
1-NY (100-95240) (LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE) (19)
1-NY (100-82157) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-) (THIN, DARK COMPLEXION, 6', LARGE EARS, WHITE, MALE
DARK HAIR MIXED WITH GREY, SPEAKS POOR ENGLISH, PER SOURCE)
1-NY (100-100442) (STOUT, BLOND WOMAN, SPOKE GOOD ENGLISH,
~~CONFUSED MANNER~~) (PER SOURCE) (Hilda Brown) (12-10)
1-NY (100-87211) (CP, USA, FACTIONALISM) (19)
1-NY (100-106964) [REDACTED] (12-10)
1-NY (100-) (W. M. YOUTH, FORMER MEMBER LYL)
1-NY (100-80633) (CP, USA, EDUCATION) (19)
1-NY (100-26603-C40) (BRONX COUNTY CP) (12-10)
COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

b6
b7C
b7D

EGA:ume
(24)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 2 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-95583-483

NY 100-26603-C40

On 5/8/58, [] furnished a two page typewritten report dated 5/7/58, containing information about a section meeting of the CP, Allerton Group, Bronx, NY.

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If this information is disseminated outside of the Bureau it should be carefully paraphrased to conceal the source's identity.

A copy of this report follows:

5-7-58

On 5-6-58 at 9:00 P.M. at 683 Allerton Ave., Bx. there took place a section meeting of the Communist Party, Allerton Group. There were about thirty members present. In addition to the older people there were several youths present.

[] was the []. He gave a brief report on activities of the section. Seventy-seven members were re-registered and there was one new members. Seventy-five special May Day issues of the Worker were sold in door to door sales. There was a good turnout to the May Day celebration at Carnegie Hall. Three thousand leaflets were given out by the members in the project.

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COPIES CONTINUED

1-NY (100-84702) ([] (12-10))
1-NY (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (12)
1-NY (100- [] (12-10))
1-NY (100-83378) ([] (12-10))
1-NY (100-131345) ([] (12-10))
~~1-NY (100-90256) ([] (12-10))~~
~~1-NY (100-13318) ([] LNU) (PARTY 40'S, WEARS GLASSES, 5'5", MOSCOW CREW HAIR, MEXICAN BUILT, HAS TEEN-AGED CHILDREN, PER SOURCE ON 5/15/58) (12-10) (Dra. Ziebel) (12-10)~~
1-NY (100-26603-C1945) (NORTH EAST SECTION, BRONX COUNTY CP) (12-10)

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NY 100-26603-C40

The speaker of the evening, [redacted], gave a lecture on the subject of Youth. He described some of the factors on the youth of today. [redacted] stated that the opinions were his own. The Communist Party had no line on the subject, and he wanted those present to think about the subject and encourage the setting up of a line.

b6
b7C

[redacted] stated there was a current anti-intellectualism and fear of defeat, if anyone tries to do anything. The Communist party activities in youth had practically died. There was no longer any specific youth movements. The Young Communist League was dead. The Labor Youth League was dead.

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b7C

He contrasted the education situation in the Soviet Union and that of the United States.

The members were called up to discuss the subject.

[redacted] got up and mourned the loss of the children of the members. She stated this condition was prevalent among most of the members of the section.

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Several members got up and repeated the same story.

Then a thin, dark-complexioned man about six feet tall with large ears that stood out perpendicular to his face got up. He has black hair touched with gray. He spoke English poorly. He stated the cause of the loss of the children from the movement was due to prosperity and persecution of recent decades.

Then a stout blond woman got up who spoke English like a native born. She was so confused that [redacted] asked her to sit down, and he got up to speak.

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He stated that both he and [redacted] were members of the State Committee of the Communist Party, and that they had gone through much in the recent period. The revisionists

NY 100-26603-C40

had done much to cause the Communist Party decline, and the members had wasted much effort in penetrating other groups. Instead of furthering the Communist Party line, they paid more attention to furthering the ideas of these different groups.

Now they would concentrate on Communist Party issues and not blunt their efforts by division.

One of the youths got up and stated that [] told him about the meeting. He said he was not a member of the Communist Party, but was a former member of the Labor Youth League. He stated there was much study of Marxist-Lenninism in groups at colleges all through the country and much activity like anti-bomb testing programs.

b6
b7C

[] then got up. In conclusion he stated that he and Albertson had spoken at several colleges. City College was specifically mentioned. He stated again that the members must agitate for a party line, and he told them that a program must be devised to prevail through prosperity and persecution. He stated that personally persecution had made him more fixed in his ideas.

Among the members of the club present besides [] were [] and [].

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[] Source identified on 5/8/58, a photo of [] as the [] (LNU) mentioned in report.

On 5/29/58, [] identified photos of [] and [] as the individuals he had referred to in this report as [] and [] the Stout, blond, woman, spoke good English, confused manner.

b6
b7C
b7D

Ega 6/2/58.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-120724-C31) (#7-2) 5/29/58

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#7) DATE:

JUN 2 1958

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: JEWISH CULTURE AND AID SOCIETY
IS-C

Identity of Source: [REDACTED] who has
furnished reliable
info in the past
(conceal).

Description of Info: Report prepared by
[REDACTED] re: the
36th Anniversary
celebration of the
Morning Freiheit.

b6
b7C
b7D

Date Received: 5/15/58

Received by: SA [REDACTED]

Original Located: [REDACTED]

Utmost care must be used in handling and
reporting the following information in order to protect
the identity of the informant.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (INV.) (#7)
- 1 - NY 100-21 (MORNING FREIHEIT) (#7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-76567 [REDACTED] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (CP MANHATTAN) (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-73516 [REDACTED] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-7918 (PAUL NOVICK) (#7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) #7-5
- 1 - NY 100-80635 (CP JEWISH ACTIVITIES) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-79486-A-1 (JEWISH PEOPLES PHILHARMONIC) (#7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-117912 [REDACTED] (#12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-79486-A-4 (JEWISH PEOPLES CHORUS) (#7-1)
- 1 - NY 100-118084 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-120724-C31 (#7-2)

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JPH:RCM
(16)

100-95583-484

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 2 1958	
FBI-NEW YORK	

7-5

NY 100-120724-C31

By report dated 5/1/58, [] furnished information regarding the 36th Anniversary Celebration of the Morning Freiheit held 4/26/58.

b7D

The following is a copy of informant's report:

<u>Report</u>	<u>Morning Freiheit</u>	May 1, 1958
	<u>activities.</u>	New York.

[] prepared a report which she will deliver at the "next meeting" of the Jewish Culture and Aid Society on the 36th anniversary celebration of the Jewish Communist daily the Morning Freiheit at Carnegie Hall in New York on April 26th, 1958.

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According to this report "some 2,000 people came to the Morning Freiheit 36th anniversary celebration at Carnegie Hall in New York."

"The [] of the evening was [] " national manager of the Morning Freiheit. He opened the meeting with a speech in which he underlined that the Morning Freiheit is "the only Jewish progressive peoples newspaper in America." He spoke about "the great sacrifices of the readers of the Morning Freiheit who are year after year raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to keep the paper going."

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"About \$4,000 or so was raised on Comrade []'s appear for funds for the Morning Freiheit."

"A standing ovation was given to the editor of the Morning Freiheit P. Novick. "Comrade Novick spoke of the great contributions which the M.F. made in the struggle for peace and coexistence, for the

NY 100-120724-C31

building of the Jewish Culture and for an independent and progressive state of Israel."

"Novick told the meeting that the M.F. is fighting for a summit conference and for civil rights of the foreign born. The Morning Freiheit is fighting against anti-semitism, against McCarthyism and for negro rights and for militant trade unionism."

"Novick challenged America and England to follow the example of the Soviet Union to stop atomic bomb tests."

"Comrade Novick underlined that the M.F. is the only Jewish newspaper in America which is fighting against the arming of Germany."

On the question of the Khrushchev interview which was published in the French newspaper "Figaro" dealing with the Jewish question in the Soviet Union Novick stated that "the Morning Freiheit is critical on the question of the way the Jewish Culture is being handled in the Soviet Union. We will keep on fighting against those elements which are using the Jewish question in their fight against the Soviet Union. We are asking the Soviet leadership to solve the Jewish question in accordance with Lenin's policy on national minorities. But we are not fighting the Soviet Union: We are followers of socialism."

"The Cultural program consisted of the singing of the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus under the leadership of Malen and the Jewish Peoples Chorus under the direction of [redacted]. [redacted] and [redacted] sang different songs. [redacted] sang the "Song of Freedom" which was written by Ber Green."

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[redacted] concludes her report stating the 36th anniversary celebration in Carnegie Hall was "an inspiring, great cultural event."

J. Morris

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, ALBANY

DATE: 5/29/58 JUN 2 1958

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-47142) (#7-1)

SUBJECT: MAY DAY COMMITTEE
IS-C

Identity of Source: [redacted] who has
furnished reliable
info in the past
(conceal).

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Description of Info: 5/1/58
Date Received: 5/15/58
Received by: SA [redacted]
Original Located: [redacted]

Utmost care must be used in handling and report-
ing the following information in order to protect the
identity of the informant.

- 1 - Albany (100-) (ROCKWELL KENT) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-) (GIL GREEN) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - [redacted] (INV.) (#7)
- 1 - New York (100-26603-C42) (CP, USA, NY CO.) (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-26603) (CP NY) (#7-6)
- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (#7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-9645) ([redacted]) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-104137) [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-9224) (A. RUBINSTEIN) (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-7918) (PAUL NOVICK) (#7-1)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) [redacted] (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-127178) [redacted] (#7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-82905) (W. BROMS) (#12-11)
- 1 - New York (100-108813) [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (#12-10)
- 1 - New York (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON) (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-101559) (JESUS COLON) (#12-11)
- 1 - New York (100-102025) [redacted] (#7-0)
- 1 - New York (100-15625) [redacted] (#7-2)

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COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2

- 1 - New York (100-47142) (#7-1)

JPH:RCM
(30)

100-95583-485

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 3 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

75

NY 100-47142

By report dated 5/8/58, [redacted] furnished information regarding the May Day Rally held 5/1/58.

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The following is a copy of informant's report:

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-26015 (ROCKWELL KENT) (#7-2)
1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (#7-5)
1 - New York (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (#7-2)
1 - New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (#12-15)
1 - New York (100-37158) ([redacted]) (#6)
1 - New York (100-95583) (CP LINE) (#7-5)
1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#7-5)
1 - New York (100-107111) (SOBELL COMMITTEE) (#7-1)

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NY 100-47142

Report Communist Party U.S.A.
 activities

May 8, 1958
New York.

re: May 1st rally at Carnegie Hall

Some 2,500 people came to the Communist party's May 1st rally at Carnegie Hall in New York.

This May 1st meeting was chaired by William Patterson, member of the N.Y. State Committee C.P. and general manager of The Worker.

At the platform, among the speakers, were [redacted], the artist who made the backdrop for the Carnegie Hall May Day meeting and Morris Cinaman, an 86 year old man who took part in the first May Day parade in New York in 1890.

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The meeting was opened with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner.

Annette Rubinstein spoke on the importance of progressive culture as an instrument in the fight for a better life.

Paul Novick on the role of the Jewish Workers in the socialist movement. He stated that the May 1st tradition is strongly entrenched in the life of the Jewish Workers.

[redacted] recalled that about a year ago he spoke from the same platform when he and others were released from prison and now the government wants to send him back to prison as a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the Winston-Greene case. [redacted] voiced his confidence that the Communist party will again grow and march forward.

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NY 100-47142

A great part of the time was devoted to the cultural program which consisted of songs, music, narration - devoted to the meaning of May 1st to the American and the World working class movement. Among those who participated in the cultural program were [redacted] and Sylvia Cohen.

Louis Weinstock made the collection speech. He told the meeting that "we have 5,000" copies of Paul Robeson's book "Here I Stand." He asked the people to contribute money while getting this book. A well organized Committee covered every section of the hall with the book. (Jesus Colon told [redacted] that the May Day collection at Carnegie was a "little over \$1,500." and William Patterson also told [redacted] that of the \$1,500 which was collected at Carnegie Hall on May 1st "about \$450 will have to be paid for the Paul Robeson's book "Here I Stand" which was distributed at Carnegie Hall) _

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The chairman told the meeting that [redacted] couldn't come to speak at this meeting because the State Department refused to let him in into this country. He read [redacted]'s greeting to this meeting.

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Patterson also read greetings to this meeting from Rockwell Kent, from Pablo Picasso and Premier Jagahn.

The meeting adopted resolutions:

1. Demanding the freeing of Henry Winston, Gil Green, Irving Potash and [redacted]
2. America and England should follow the Soviet example of stopping the tests of nuclear weapons.
3. To demand that the Eisenhower administration should take immediate steps to prosecute those who are responsible for the bombing of negro and Jewish institutions.

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The meeting also adopted a greeting to the people of Israel on the occassion of the 10th anniversary of Israel.

Ben Davis, chairman of the N.Y. State Committee C.P. closed the meeting with a speech in which he stated that some people claim that the Communist party is dead. He looked over the hall and said: "Well, if this is dead watch us when we catch fire." He attacked the "pseudo-Marxists" in and out of the Communist party for trying to dissolve the Communist party. He spoke against "People's capitalism" and he declared that President Eisenhower's attending a ceremony in honor of Robert Lee is an insolt to the negro people.

J. Morris

6/6
OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 6/3/58

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
 - (1 - 97-401)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
- 3 - Chicago (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - A134-46)
 - (1 - CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cleveland (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - HY LUMER)
- 3 - Detroit (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - CARL WINTER)
 - (1 - TOMMY DENNIS)
- 2 - Los Angeles (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - [REDACTED])
- 2 - Newark (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - PAT TOOHEY)
- 3 - Philadelphia (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - [REDACTED])
 - (1 - THOMAS NABRIED)
- 1 - San Francisco (CP, USA)(Info)(RM)
- 2 - Seattle (CP, USA)(RM)
 - (1 - BERT NELSON)
- 1 - New York 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(7-5)
- 1 - New York 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)(7-5)
- 1 - New York 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(7-5)
- 1 - New York 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)(12-15)
- 1 - New York 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)(7-)
- 1 - New York 100-16785 (JAMES E. JACKSON)(7-5)
- 1 - New York 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 1 - New York 100-80633 (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
- 1 - New York 100-27452 ([REDACTED])(7-5)
- 1 - New York 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)

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(Copies Cont'd on Page 2)

- 1 - New York (100-80641)

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(43)

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SM

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On April 30, 1958, NY 2179-S* advised that on above date, a meeting of the NEC, CP,USA, was held in the Third Floor Board Room, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. According to the informant, the following people were believed in attendance: EUGENE DENNIS, WILLIAM WEINSTONE, JACK STACHEL, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, BEN DAVIS, JR., JAMES E. JACKSON, ARNOLD JOHNSON, and others not identified.

Informant advised that the meeting was opened by an individual believed to be ARNOLD JOHNSON, who commented that there is a need for the Party to strengthen its work with the working people.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that "they" must explain in a positive way what the CP is, what it stands for, and what "we" do not stand for. He indicated that a distorted view of the Party has been given. He said that in his opinion, "we" have to organize important people nationally, in a number of localities, who are capable to advance this program. People who can appear at universities, colleges and forums where they can get a hearing. He stated that "we" have people with those capabilities in almost all places (who could explain what the Party stands for ?).

Copies Cont'd

1 - New York 100-105078 (HY LUMER)
1 - New York 100-74560 (CP,USA - FUNDS)
1 - New York 100-87211 (CP,USA - FACTIONALISM)
1 - New York 100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON) (12-11)
1 - New York 100-21 (MORNING FREIHEIT) (7-2)
1 - New York 100-19679 ([REDACTED]) (7-5)
1 - New York 100-13444 ([REDACTED]) (12-9)
1 - New York 100-25623 (ERIC BERT)
1 - New York 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS) (12-14)
① - New York 100-95583 (CP,USA - LINE)

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke concerning the lack of confidence in the Party leadership and recommended that the leadership should go to the districts to hear what the people in those districts have to say. He said he thought this was urgent and necessary.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

Informant advised that JACKSON commented concerning the fund drive and a "draft" that apparently will appear, and which JACKSON believes is not sufficient.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

I think that JACK's ^{JACKSON} (~~STACHEL~~) point has (merit ?). He indicated that the draft would be put in "P.A." ("Political Affairs") and "The Worker" and said that this would mean that it would be read directly by approximately 10,000 people. STACHEL indicated that the draft would include the kind of work that the Party is doing.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS spoke again concerning the fund drive, commenting that it was originally scheduled to start May 1st and now it has been delayed until the 15th (of May), "so time is of the essence." DAVIS further remarked that "they have a situation in New York, we are trying to raise \$50,000." He expressed the thought saying he agreed with ARNOLD (JOHNSON) that information concerning the fund drive should appear on the front page of "The Worker."

DAVIS also discussed the factional fight in the Party, and indicated that something should be written as to the Party's perspective and position with relation to the factional fight. He said "we" know what factions we are fighting, the opportunists and the revisionists on the one hand, and the left faction on the other, but I'll be G--- D----- if the Party knows where they (?) are. He said that they should give the Party a feeling of perspective as to where we are going and how we propose to get there and what the issues are in relation to forces.

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For example, this is the only party in America, the only political party that has a certain position with respect to the whole struggle, the only party that has a position with respect to the cessation of the bomb tests, the only political party that offers any future for the youth. That is what our Party proposes to do, and that, to me, would give the Party some perspective. He indicated that they (factionalists ?) have been defeated in destroying the Party through attacks on the leadership and the Party line, and now, they are trying to "hit" by drying up the sources of funds of the Party, from among the workers, the Negro people, and so on down the line.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

First, the comrades will recall the discussions on the fund drive at the last NEC. Subcommittees were started to consult on the best ways to prepare, but, personally, "I" still think it will be necessary to consult with some of the districts before any (call ?) is (started ?). He stated that they should note that some of the districts start their drives (fund drives ?) independently of one another.

DENNIS said that he would also like to discuss the "rumors" concerning the question of finances, adding that it was confusing and demoralizing. My judgment is that before this drive get's going very far, the National Committee will have to announce an election of a national and state treasurer. The type of comrades that will command, above all, the respect and confidence and trust of sectional organizers (?).

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WEINSTONE spoke concerning what informant believed to be the need for a summary of National Committee meetings. He said that material does not get out (to the membership ?) quick enough to be effective, and as a result, we are handicapped on that score. He stated that, in his opinion, the success of the campaign and the "key" to the success is the mobilization of the Party. The Party is filled with (rumors ?) that the enemy has helped to spread. Therefore, it is necessary to say

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something concerning it. Now, comrades, this is not just an appeal for (funds ?), it is an emergency appeal, so you have to state it. You cannot state an emergency appeal without the question of what is our financial (position ?). He indicated that rumors were rampant that "we" had a huge fund--just wasted it all. He said you have to meet that and stop it or there will be no success in the campaign. As long as these rumors continue, we will not get off the ground with this appeal.

I agree that we should designate a treasurer. I agree that we should, in all the districts, have the respect (that ought to be there ?) We do not have it. In general, I am in favor of elected (auditing ?) committees. The way to beat that is to have responsible auditing and responsible auditors that are responsible direct to the membership. He said that they have to advise the membership that expenses have been "cut to the bone."

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL commented that the figure (apparently fund drive figure) agreed upon (\$185,000 ?) might not be sufficient. He proposed that comrades (HY) LUMER and (BILL) ALBERTSON, with [redacted], set up a committee to set up the mechanics of the drive, such as methods of raising funds, timetables, and the like.

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Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON spoke concerning the moving of "The Worker," adding that they have four machines (printing machines), two of which "we" hope to sell to the Freiheit ("Morning Freiheit"), and two, we will bring with "us." We have the perspective, "not only of building this paper ("The Worker"), but also to blaze the way for another daily." We believe there are people who will help us, but if we were here (CP Headquarters), would not (come ?) to this office. Now, we believe that the move here (Headquarters) will make it impossible for these people to work together. We believe they will not want a building where there is only one institution, one organization. The building

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we have has several floors and there are institutions in it, so if a man or woman comes (to the building), he is not suspect. One who comes here, of course, can claim only that they came to the Communist Party or a Communist building, whether it is to "The Worker" or not. We therefore feel that it would be a mistake for us to move here. The place that we are negotiating for costs us \$1,300 a year and there is some feeling that it would be impossible to place that burden on the shoulders of the Party.

Now, I think also, that those who invited us here have taken a narrow point of view from the sense of both of our positions. I am not expressing only my own opinion, I am also expressing the opinion of the staff of "The Worker." I want to move as quickly as possible and we believe the moving should run into a couple of thousand dollars. The question is, we have not got this (money ?) at the moment--how then, are we going to move? We want to move to the 18th and Broadway site and if we can make it in the next two weeks, we would like to know that, too.

We are charged now \$600 a month (rent apparently at 35 East 12th Street). We have paid \$1200 in approximately the last five months and are in debt for \$1800. However, if we move to Broadway, the rent will be \$275 a month, which is a really "terrific deal."

Informant advised that PATTERSON then described this new location on 18th and Broadway. PATTERSON said that the floor has posts running down three-fourths of the wall and there is a section that could be divided off and could be used for a number of things. There will be space for two back rooms, if we wanted them. We could throw it open for a lecture or quorum, space being available for about fifty people. He said, of course, that this would have to be taken up with the Fire and Police Departments regulations. PATTERSON noted that there were two exits and two elevators, one elevator being a private one which could be used on Saturdays and Sundays, and the freight (elevator) seven days a week, as long as they wanted.

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Remarks of an Unknown Male

An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant stated that he went to the Freiheit ("Morning Freiheit") with [redacted] and they are buying two of our machines:

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL stated that "we" cannot move in with the Freiheit because they do not want us and the Freiheit itself is probably going to consolidate itself and have only one floor. I agree 100 per cent with [redacted] on being independent. I would rather have "The Worker" at 26th Street than have no "Worker" at all. The whole thing amounts to a question of about \$3,000. STACHEL stated that many people will come to the (proposed) new building that would not come here. STACHEL stated that he has not seen the place himself, but everyone who has, like [redacted] and [redacted] and GEORGE (MORRIS ?), ERIC BURT, say it has everything. STACHEL indicated that there would be many other benefits of having a separate location for "The Worker," adding that people like GEORGE (MORRIS ?) meets people outside (the Party) and [redacted] has told me (he is) beginning to build up a whole new group of people around the paper. [redacted] is trying to build up a group of people around him to come out and do things.

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Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

I agree, don't combine the paper and the Party, unless financial necessity drives us to it. I think it is a political question of definite support not to combine the paper and the Party. About the school and the paper, I would not like to see the school and the paper (combined ?) either, because the school could be broader than the paper, as the paper is broader than the Party. If you do not walk through the paper in order to get to the school, by putting up a partition, so as to create an independent enterprise of the school, then that is worthy of consideration, because we must have a school. Not a big enterprise--not a small enterprise, and one large enough to conduct

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a school---to accommodate several hundred students, which is not hard to do if you have three class rooms, five nights a week. That is fifteen classes, and that means a possibility of four hundred students in the course of one week. We have been looking around for a site to prepare for a school in September or October. One has to look it over from the standpoint of entrances and the question of whether the independence would be affected.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

Where are you going to get the money from? Where are you going to get that \$275 a month? He indicated that if the rent is not paid at the new place, they would be just thrown out, and eventually instead of coming here (Headquarters) directly, you will come here by way of Broadway and 18th Street. He said they must lick the financial situation. DAVIS said that he knew that comrade [redacted] always tries to raise independent funds and thought that comrades in "The Worker" should undertake to raise their rent independent of the Party, which would mean \$3600 a year. He expressed the thought that "The Worker" comrades should do something to take that responsibility off the national and state office. He asked why don't you set up a big, a Sunday Worker, and by the way, I think we ought to call this "The Weekly Worker." We ought to get the name changed. Set up the Sunday Worker association or "The Weekly Worker" association responsible for one thing, raising (the money ?) for the rent. It is harder on us (National Office ?) to have a \$600 a month debt which we do not pay, than to have a \$275 a month that we will have to pay. Therefore, we ought to have a group on "The Worker" just to be responsible for raising the rent money every month.

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Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

That is what we're working on (an association to raise the rent);

An individual believed to be DENNIS stated "I make a proposal that comrades on 'The Worker' also undertake to raise the rent," and WILLIAM PATTERSON replied, "I accept that proposal."

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Informant advised that DENNIS then spoke concerning the full NEC schedule for the 9th, 10th and 11th (of May). He said that while he was on this subject, I should mention that PAT TOOHEY was very "perturbed" that he was not invited to the last full NEC. I personally have no objection to inviting him. (Informant advised that it was decided that TOOHEY would be invited to the next NEC meeting.) Continuing, DENNIS indicated that some of the points to be discussed at the NEC meeting would be (1) Party program, (2) report on New York elections, (3) discussions on the Rockefeller report, and (4) the California situation.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that JACK's (JACKSON) report on the Negro question has to be on (the agenda?). "I" hope that the board will invite BERT NELSON.

Informant advised an individual believed to be DENNIS interrupted DAVIS and commented, "I don't know why?"

DAVIS, in answer, stated he would like to hear what BERT NELSON has to say concerning the California and the Washington State leadership.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke concerning the leadership of the Party and said that the membership should be told that the FBI tried to destroy the Party by attacking the leadership.

Informant advised that discussion followed pertaining to the agenda for the coming NEC meeting and arguments ensued over whether BERT NELSON or others from California should be invited to the meeting.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS stated that he was not opposed to other district

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"guys" coming (to the meeting) like PAT (TOOHEY). He indicated that he would like district leaders from various parts of the country to be invited from time to time to attend national meetings. He said it would create a much better atmosphere for the leadership, adding that, after all, we just sent out one letter on what "we" (National office ?) were doing, the [redacted] letter. That is all we have sent out since February. He stated that comrades draw conclusions that the only ones we invite in are those comrades that have a certain approach on the fight that we had in the last National Committee meeting. Then, too, BERT (NELSON) is close to California and is in constant contact, politically, ideologically and organizationally. I would like to know what BERT's ideas are and what the California leadership thinks. He said that BERT (NELSON) happens to represent another point of view--another trend that has come into Party leadership.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS indicated that there was a special reason, in addition to the big political one, to try and bring CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and CARL (WINTER). To do everything possible to integrate these comrades into the leadership.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

I would like to know what people in leading districts have to say. How can we have another NEC meeting without considering what the hell has happened to the Party in California.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL spoke concerning the enlarging of the NEC to fifteen members, saying that CARL (WINTER) and (CLAUDE) LIGHTFOOT were among that fifteen and therefore they should be brought in (for the meeting). He stated if we do not get the fifteen persons that we originally wanted, he would be in favor of BERT NELSON, characterizing NELSON as one of the outstanding comrades

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"we" have. Continuing, STACHEL remarked that if "we" have no one from New Jersey, he would be in favor of putting PAT (TOOHEY) in the National Executive Committee from New Jersey. He said he would favor NABRIED (THOMAS) from Philadelphia if [redacted] does not want to work with us. If CARL WINTER refuses to accept, I'd be in favor of accepting TOMMY DENNIS from Michigan.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS

According to the informant, DAVIS became quite excited, charging that others were attributing factional motives to his suggestion of BERT NELSON. He said that the comrades are saying that if you live close to New York, you can get into the National Executive Committee, and that others who live far away, there is always the question of money involved. The meeting concluded with DAVIS commenting that he saw nothing wrong with his proposal on NELSON, that it should be treated on its merits instead of raising hell about it. He added that GENE (DENNIS) could have just said, "Well, maybe we'll invite him to the next one," but because "I" raised it, it's a "great big deal."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: JUN 10 1958

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CLASSIFICATION BY 6076m 10-3-78
EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO
DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE
INFORMANT.

(U) On 5/14/58 NY 2179-S* advised that on the above date the following members of the National Executive Committee (NEC), CP, USA, met in the third floor Board Room, CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC: EUGENE DENNIS, JACK STACHEL, HY LUMER, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., and [REDACTED] X

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Also in attendance were ARNOLD JOHNSON, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, GEORGE MORRIS and others not identified. X

(U)

3-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- (100-3-81) (CP, USA-International Relations)
2-Chicago (RM)
 (1-100- FRED FINE)
2-Cleveland (RM)
 (1-100- HY LUMER)
2-Newark (RM)
 (1-100- JOE BRANDT)
1-NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5)
1-NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (7-5)
1-NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (7-5)
1-NY 100-23825 (BEN J. DAVIS, JR.) (7-5)
1-NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON) (7-5)
1-NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (7-5)
1-NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (12-15)
1-NY 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS) (7-1)
1-NY 97- 169 (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
1-NY 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations) (7-5)
① 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - Line) (7-5)
1-NY 100-74560 (CP, USA - Funds) (7-5)
1-NY 100-25623 (ERIC BERT) (7-1)
1-NY 100-15828 (JOE BRANDT) (7-2)
1-NY 100-89816 (FRED FINE) (7-2)
1-NY 100-80633 (CP, USA-Education) (7-5)
1-NY 100-80641

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 10 1958	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

The informant advised that DENNIS, acting as chairman of the meeting, discussed the following points as agenda:

1. Summit and Rockefeller Reports.
2. The fund drive.
3. Communications.
4. Composition of program committee.
5. Yugoslav question
6. NIXON question.

~~X~~ DENNIS stated that "On the Summit", Washington (D.C) opposed basic peace in the world...opposes East-West negotiations and has succeeded temporarily in delaying the preparations of the heads of the governments' meeting... On February 18 the Soviet Union officially proposed a Summit meeting on which they agreed upon an agenda which gave promise of at least partial agreements on a number of very fine questions. DENNIS listed some of these questions as joint declaration denouncing (nuclear) warfare, the proposition of banning nuclear tests with adequate control and a partial reduction of conventional arms. He stated the U.S. supported by MC MILLAN (Prime Minister MC MILLAN) countered with subsequent proposals which were designated to forestall the Summit Conference or at the very least to delay it. Meanwhile Washington proceeded with the missiles agreement with Britain. At the end of March, the Soviet Union made its far reaching decisions, the unilateral suspension of nuclear weapon tests....with the U.S. and Great Britain to follow suit.

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The State Department and the President immediately took a position that the Soviet move was cheap propaganda...and it was of note that the tests scheduled in the Marshall Islands would proceed. In addition to the position taken by the White House and the State Department, (DEAN) ACHESON and (HARRY) TRUMAN joined publicly in advocating the need for a Summit meeting. However, the Soviet initiative has a tremendous international impact and stimulated further the proposals of nuclear tests and it is not only among the neutral nations and among the countries in the West that there was such reaction. Even here (United States), notwithstanding the official position of the Chief Administration spokesman, there is a positive and powerful reaction to the Soviet initiative.

Informant advised that DENNIS then commented concerning the action taken by the Soviet Union at the end of April concerning the question of U.S. aerial flights in the direction of the Soviet Union. He indicated that the American delegation then came forward with its proposals concerning the open skies inspection of Arctic regions. DENNIS stated that this proposal, if accepted, "would legalize American patrols in the Arctic." He stated that it was calculated to "short circuit" the Summit meeting, and to take some of the proposals in respect to the tests (nuclear) and inspection away from the "region" of a Summit Conference. DENNIS indicated that presently diplomatic discussions in Moscow have begun with additional concessions on the part of the Soviet Union in respect to ... proposals...and inspection.

According to the informant, DENNIS indicated that it is necessary and possible to strengthen and expand activities to prohibit the (nuclear?) tests and to register a more effective popular support for a conference at the Summit. He commented that the State CIO in California and ten out of fourteen Democratic Congressional candidates in New Jersey have spoken out in favor of banning the tests. He stated that all of this indicated that necessary political tension is possible to elevate the issue of nuclear tests and East-West talks "into a line." He indicated that "our line" might take a constructive role with regard to certain of these developments and exert a much greater influence.

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Continuing, DENNIS indicated that they might have some activities on Decoration Day and on the Anniversary of Hiroshima. (Informant advised that DENNIS did not indicate what type of activities they might have.)

DENNIS stated that "we" have to show the high profits of the utilities of the giants in the electrical industries which he indicated derived profit from the continuation of the nuclear tests.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

"I" agree fully with the report, it is an excellent report. One question comes to my mind, "All the excellent things that are said in this room are never seen in the light of day."

Continuing, STACHEL said that GENE (DENNIS) just made a report on the international affairs and "I" say that nobody took it down. (According to the informant, it appeared that STACHEL indicated that some of the statements made at the meetings could appear in "The Worker.")

STACHEL stated that in his opinion "we" ought to become the partisans and consistent proponents of the U.S. and Soviet Union directly negotiating. "We" want the U.S. and the Soviet Union to negotiate all differences. Secondly, in connection with China, we have to keep on fighting for the admission of China (Red China) to the U.N. and international conferences. He stated that the United States is the country involved in preventing China to act in this role.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that PAT (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON?) came to the office yesterday and discussed the fund drive and the newspaper ("The Worker"). [REDACTED] indicated that they had an exchange of opinions as to whether "The Worker" could directly support the fund drive. He said that they must settle this among ourselves, "without any fuzziness about it," the manner in which the paper ("The Worker") should participate in the campaign for the drive. He indicated

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that without the paper there is no "contact" and said that in no way does this jeopardize, "from a legal standpoint," the paper.

Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to informant, spoke concerning the articles appearing in "The Worker." He indicated that there should be a closer contact between comrades and articles appearing in "The Worker."

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

JOHNSON indicated that there was an emergency concerning the situation on the paper. He said, "I read a — Russian comment on—and they refer to the "Daily Worker" as the official or central organ of the Communist Party." So "we" want to take care of legal matters....

According to the informant, JOHNSON then spoke concerning the appeal that should be made to Party members in order to save the Party. He indicated that a direct appeal should be made to the Party members showing that the financial drive will save the Party and get it back to work.

Remarks of Unknown Male

An individual, whose identity was unknown to informant, commented that "we" got the impression that nobody is excited (about the fund drive?). He said that "we" (apparently people on "The Worker" staff) think that you (National Office?) have to provide well thought out appeals, the kind that fight for the Party, fight for the fund drive, in order to save the Party.

Continuing, this individual stated "the goal" was \$70,000 out of this drive. (Informant believed this was "The Worker's" share from fund drive.) He indicated that what "we" get directly (from contributors?) will relieve you to some degree "responsibility on the \$70,000."

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This individual indicated that "you" either have to endorse the drive or arrange a form of dual drive...because there are people who are "barking at us from all sides at the strength of the Party."

Remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON indicated that when meetings concerning the campaign are discussed "we" ought to have been in on it. "We" must know every plan in order that "we" can reflect it in the interest of the Party. He stated it is not a question of criticizing anyone but a need to work in coordination. PATTERSON then asked the question, "How do we express our interests, \$70,000 interest, not abstracting it from the \$185,000..."

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

"I" think that it is true that a lot of things might have been organized in advance with greater consultation, but you have to take into account what was happening the last few weeks. He indicated that what was needed was a permanent committee, one representing the National Office, one from the management of the staff, such as GEORGE (MORRIS?), or ERIC (BURT?), and one from New York State possibly. He indicated that this committee would only be temporary during the fund drive.

Continuing, JACK STACHEL said that there were legal problems and political problems which have to be solved. "The Party and 'The Worker' are two separate institutions," at the same time they are ^{world} related to each other. Everybody knows, the whole world, that the Party supports 'The Worker' and without the Party "The Worker" would not exist. He stated it is also true that "The Worker" has to more and more stand on its own feet, to reach out for support. Many people will support "The Worker" who will not support the Party directly...we should take advantage of both.

STACHEL stated that as to the amount of money raised, "The Worker" has the responsibility of campaigning for both, not for one. He stated that sometimes in the same issue (of "The Worker") there are campaigns directed primarily to those who want to support "The Worker". You are not going

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to make a financial drive in the abstract, it is going to be connected with the issues. He indicated that there should be special club meetings to make appeals. He stated "The Worker" will not be able to live without \$70,000 and "The Worker" will not get more than \$70,000."

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS indicated that New York State was considering the appointing of a New York State Press Manager in connection with the drive. He will be a "full time person" working out of the State for the purpose of looking after all the business, fund drive problems.

"I" would say, "we" are in a new stage of development in the Party. It is not a problem of decline but a problem of growth and developing the proper political role for the paper with respect to the Party. DAVIS stated that it was his understanding that this (drive) was essentially a Party fund drive but "we" should regard it as a Party and press fund drive.

DAVIS stated that we have to see that the fund drive is essentially a drive against the liquidation of this Party. He stated "they" tried to liquidate it with (JOHN) GATES. "They" will try through some of the "wild-eyed ultra-leftists" to destroy our Party. He said the Party is making considerable important progress, but "they" are concentrating on one thing, "they are trying to dry up the sources of money for this Party." DAVIS then referred to SCHWARTZ (possibly HARRY SCHWARTZ of "The New York Times") and [redacted] of the "New York Post". He stated that what they have to do is to attack the SCHWARTZ article and the [redacted] article. A Negro wriger ([redacted]) from a so-called liberal paper (the "New York Post") who objects to Negroes having such a large role in the membership and leadership of the Party...this is one of the biggest assets that the comrades have, this S.O.B. tried to destroy us. This is a basis for appealing for money for the Party...this idea about a million dollar somewhere."

Continuing, DAVIS remarked, "Does the Party have to say a word to [redacted] or GEORGE (MORRIS?) or JOE (BRANDT?) that there ain't a million dollars somewhere that we are sitting on."

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Continuing, DAVIS stated the new thing about this drive (fund drive) is not the press, which we have to give blood money every week in order to get it (the paper) out; the new thing about it is that we are trying to "orient" our Party members in a difficult, desperate situation, to raise money for the Communist Party.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS stated that he agreed with most of what JACK (STACHEL) and BEN (DAVIS) stated...with respect to the press fighting for the Party. "I" think that would be a distinguishing feature of the paper. DENNIS indicated that when the vacations start there was going to be a big problem, "the difference of four pages of copy is not the simplest thing in the world."

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be
GEORGE MORRIS

He indicated that there should be some type of press committee to work with [redacted] in order to develop the circulation drive. He then referred to the paper's "independent influence" commenting that it cannot be done solely by [redacted] and that it has to be done by a group representing the National (Office) and the District (New York).

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The informant advised that DENNIS then indicated the following discussion would pertain to the Rockefeller Report:

Remarks of HY LUMER

According to the informant, LUMER discussed the composition of the individuals who prepared the Rockefeller Report. He said the report is subdivided into seven major areas, such as International Security, U.S. International Objectives, Foreign Economic Policy, Domestic Economic Objectives, and Manpower. He stated the over-all panel consists of 31 members and at least 14 of these are businessmen. LUMER commented that on the whole, the report may be considered the representative...an important segment of American capitalism. He said the immediate starting point of the report

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is the current economic slump and sets up a program for the next decade. LUMER stated that the report attempts to set up an economic plan with the aim of stabilizing economic growth. He stated the entire approach of the report is based on the KINGSIAN (ph) concept of a regulated economy as it has developed in this country in the post-war years.

Continuing, LUMER stated that the report with regard to the question of labor refers to labor's responsibility to increase production. On the Negro question, the report speaks in generalities about the end of racial segregation but it offers nothing. He stated that it is noteworthy that where the report deals concretely with specific questions, such as taxes, it deals with measures for putting more money into the hands of big business; where the report deals on the other hand with social welfare, it offers nothing concretely. LUMER commented that the program of the report is a big business program. It clearly does not reflect an aggressive policy on labor....

~~X~~ The informant advised that DENNIS then interrupted LUMER and commented, "I do not see anything here in conflict basically with the Administration's position."

LUMER commented that there is a difference in the way certain things are put in the report.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

Informant advised that DAVIS then commented concerning LUMER's report and indicated that the comparison with the Soviet economy...is very important. DAVIS stated that he believed that the Rockefeller interests have a dominating interest in the Eisenhower Administration, commenting that the greatest risk that the Eisenhower Administration has been willing to take, with respect to war, has been in defense of the Rockefeller interests.

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Remarks of JACK STACHEL

STACHEL recommended that the report (apparently economic report) should be sent to members of the National Committee and to the District. He stated that HY (LUMER) should be able to prepare a short article both for "The Worker" and P.A. ("Political Affairs").

STACHEL stated that the Eisenhower Administration's program is "not for an immediate war, but a prolonged cold war." He stated that EISENHOWER (President) spoke recently of four years more for the cold war and that is very important.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] indicated that the period of crisis today was different from the crisis of the 1930's but that the issues will sharpen. He stated "we" base our outlook on a peace economy and on an increase of disarmament rather than an increase in armament. "We" have a fundamental disagreement in the area of trade..flowing from this outlook where we place a much more pronounced emphasis and give much greater weight to the impact which would accrue to our economy from the development of extensive trade relations based on peaceful co-existence with the Socialist countries of the world.

Remarks of Individual believed to be HY LUMER

According to the informant, LUMER commented that the depression is due to inadequate purchasing power; therefore, the fundamental thing which has to be done is raise the mass purchasing power...this is the cardinal position.....

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

"We" have five more points (on the agenda?). One is a communication to the NEC from FRED FINE. We also have the matter of the Yugoslav question.

Remarks of an Individual believed to be ARNOLD JOHNSON

Informant advised that JOHNSON then read a letter believed to be from FRED FINE, which was addressed to the

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National Executive Committee. According to the letter, as read by JOHNSON, FINE stated that he wished to protest the "contents" of []'s mimeographed letter. He stated some of the "agrieved comrades"...believed it is necessary to put "our house" in order. Many (of the comrades) who do not share my general view were shocked and disheartened. He indicated that members wished to express their indignation..."people like myself who remained in the Party and who disagree with the dumping of the 16th Convention policies..."

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(Continuing, the letter stated that members of the National Committee...urge the National Executive Committee (NEC) to devote itself to affirmatively advancing the mass policies of the National Committee and carry out the mandate of the 16th Convention..." "I" request that this letter be sent to all members of the National Committee and be published in "The Worker."

~~X~~ Remarks of []

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According to informant, [] indicated that he was not particularly worried about this (letter?). He indicated that what is to be done here is to attack the thesis and commented that a major onslaught (is) developing against the Party...anti-Party conspiracy. He stated that "we" have to deal openly with the Party membership to develop the struggle for the Party.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

According to the informant, DENNIS stated that they would take up the Yugoslav question at a later meeting. He stated he would also like to agree on a discussion of the Jewish question for a couple of hours. He stated that the letter from the Jewish Commission submitted for the National Committee should be read by everyone before the meeting. DENNIS indicated that this meeting will be scheduled for the following Tuesday, (May 20, 1958).

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Remarks of HY LUMER

~~X~~ LUMER commented that he had some proposals to offer for the setting up of an Educational Committee. Informant advised that DENNIS interrupted LUMER, stating that there was no need to go into that at the present time, and the meeting closed at this point.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

DATE:

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-11067)

JUN 11 1958

SUBJECT: CP, USA, NEW YORK DISTRICT
NEGRO QUESTION
IS -C
OO: ALBANY

The New York State CP held a Negro conference at the Yugoslav Hall in New York City on April 25-26, 1958. [REDACTED] who attended and who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported to SA ROBERT E. MARGISON on May 18, 1958, and his report is located in [REDACTED]. The report follows:

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CC:

2-Bureau (100-3-75) (RM)
2-Buffalo (100-Negro Question) (RM) (100-11963 [REDACTED]) (RM)
48-New York (100-80640) (RM)
(100-26603-CP, NY DIVISION, NY DISTRICT)
(100-128814-CP, NEW YORK DIVISION, ORGANIZATION)
(100-128314-FUNDS)
(100-128816-NATIONAL YOUTH COMMISSION)
(100-PARTY LINE) [REDACTED]
(100-23825-BEN DAVIS)
(100-81794-HOLOIS MOOREHEAD)
(100-CLAUDIA JONES)
(100-UNSUB [REDACTED] NEGRO MALE, ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO
CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958 NYC)
(100-13447 [REDACTED])
(100-UNSUB LOU, WHITE MALE, ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO
CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958, NYC)
(100-MICHAEL DAVIDOW)
(100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE
APRIL 25-26, 1958 NYC)
(100-9550-PAUL ROBSON, JR.)
(100-16785-JIMMY JACKSON)
(100-20-MORRIS SCHAPPES)
(100-UNSUB [REDACTED] WHITE MALE ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO
CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958, NYC)
(100-81495-HARRY HAYWARD)

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REM:PAC
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100-95583-488

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

AL 100-11067

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958
NYC)

100-9595-WILLIAM WEINSTONE)

100-85936-[REDACTED]

100-116385-[REDACTED]

100-84275-BILL PATTERSON)

100-91911-JESSIE GRAY)

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100-86971-[REDACTED]

100-52959-[REDACTED]

100-50096-[REDACTED]

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958
NYC)

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958
NYC)

100-13336-[REDACTED]

100-[REDACTED]

100-92572-[REDACTED]

100-54555-[REDACTED]

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958
NYC)

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100-99369-[REDACTED]

100-133346-[REDACTED]

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] ATTENDANT NYS CP NEGRO CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958
NYC)

100-79025-[REDACTED]

100-INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)

100-60640-[REDACTED]

100-13527-[REDACTED]

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] MALE NEGRO, 5'7", LATE 30'S ATTENDANT NYS CP
CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958, NYC)

100-UNSUB [REDACTED] FORMER NEGRO COMMISSION MEMBER, ATTENDANT NYS CP
CONFERENCE APRIL 25-26, 1958, NYC)

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100-67670-[REDACTED]

100-[REDACTED]

100-93651-[REDACTED]

2-Albany (100-11067)

[REDACTED]

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On April 25 and 26, 1958, the New York State CP held a Negro Conference at the Yugoslav Hall in New York City. The Friday night session, April 25, was attended by about 60 people and began at 8:30 PM, running through 11 PM. The Saturday session April 26, 1958, at which approximately 80 people attended ran from 11 AM through 6 PM.

The main report was presented Friday night by BEN DAVIS, Jr. and lasted about an hour and one half. The remainder of the two sessions was devoted to ten minute discussions on the Negro Question from the floor, presented by those in attendance. The proceedings was recorded on tape.

HALOIS MOOREHEAD was the Chairman of the Friday night session. She made an opening comment concerning CLAUDIA JONES one of the deported members of the CP who is now editor of the West Indian Gazette. MOOREHEAD stated that JONES was "doing well." MOOREHEAD then introduced BEN DAVIS, JR. DAVIS stated that we must work out the best way we can for our Party to help the Negro movement. He stated that the National Committee has a Negro Commission and that the CP will have National, Regional, and State Conferences to work out a policy on the Negro question. This meeting is one of the State Conferences. Some comrades feel that the Party has abandoned its position on the Negro question. The Negro question is similar to the Jewish, the Puerto Rican and the Mexican questions. DAVIS feels the Conference should discuss a broad mass policy and get down to work to carry through this policy. We must get down to mass work and not wait for the Party to resolve all of its differences. We must set up a Negro Commission for New York State to discuss and implement the policy brought forth at this Conference. We must get down to the issues which face the Negro today. Future Conferences will be held on the Puerto Rican and Jewish questions. The economic crisis is the essential question. The fight for Negro jobs is a must in the fight for liberation. He believes we are headed for a worse depression and this is the worst depression since the 1930's. He rapped NIXON's speech as an aid to big business and said that it was the same as ROCKEFELLER's proposals. We must support the demands of the AFL-CIO program. We must study Spanish so as to be able to help the Puerto Ricans. We must find ways and means to move our people into committees, organizations and unions. The Party must discuss Moslemism and this new Moslem movement and define just who our enemy is. There are no Negro telephone workers and the AT&T is responsible for this. There are no Negro or

Puerto Ricans working in the gas companies and Consolidated Edison is responsible for this. He proposes that we get a qualified Puerto Rican or Negro elected to apply at AT&T and support his fight if he isn't hired. We must expose the monopolist for not hiring Puerto Ricans, Negroes, or Jews, set up a commission to fight unemployment and start a campaign for a national FEPC. He demands instant implementation of the Supreme Court decisions. He praised PAUL ROBESON's new book "Here I Stand," stating that it has a practical program on the Negro question. One hundred thousand copies have already been sold and the CP should see that the book is available and is sold. He said the book is a turning point in the struggle for Negro freedom. DAVIS pled for the struggle for peace, advocated an end to H bomb testing and an education of the masses on the perils of the tests. He advocated a Marxist press for the Negro people. There is a plot to destroy the Party by the revisionists. He cited the 26 resignations from the Communist Party of California, pled for an end to factionalism and stated that the Party must be united.

[] from West Harlem, was the first of the ten minute speakers from the floor.. He agreed with the report but thinks that DAVIS rambled. We must be clear on the ideology of the Negro question before we can proceed in our mass work.

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[] agreed with the report and made a plea for Party recruitment. He stated that he had recently recruited a member for the Party.

[] next spoke from the floor, agreed with the main line of the report and praised the PAUL ROSESON book.

MIKE DAVIDOW took the floor and agreed with the DAVIS report.

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[] made the concluding comments from the floor on Friday night, agreeing with the main line of the Report.

PAUL ROBESON, Jr. chaired the Saturday session and the ten minute discussions of the DAVIS Report continued.

JIM JACKSON agreed with the Report and read a letter from the National Committee to the Party leadership concerning ROBESON's book. This letter stated that the CP should take up the sale of the book. In New York City, the Party pledged to sell 25,000 issues. The book is referred to

AL 100-11067

as the "Negro Manifesto" and is called the greatest book since Uncle Tom's Cabin." The book will speed up the Negroes fight for freedom.

[] from Buffalo, agreed with the report. She commented upon the first Negro woman to be placed on the Buffalo City Council. She told of the experiences with the State Committee Against Discrimination in Buffalo. The NAACP in Buffalo is not powerful enough to get much action on employment there and the United Automobile Workers are doing but little.

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MORRIS SCHAPPES thinks that the main issue facing the Negro today is employment. The Party must fight for more jobs for Negroes and higher benefits for the unemployed. Housing, schools, and integration is secondary to jobs and relations. A survey has shown that Negro-Jewish relations are much better, and the Negroes now realize the Jews are their partners and supporters.

[] took the floor and agreed with the DAVIS Report.

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[] does not like the DAVIS Report. He supported self determination, theory cannot be separated from practice, a theoretical line is necessary before you can work in the mass movement. He criticized Party leadership for lagging in the Little Rock situation and in the events in Chicago, in the Negro areas. He cited the loss of Negro membership because they do not like the action of leadership and charges that leadership evaded a discussion on Negro work. He proposed rank and file conferences on the Negro question and a reaffirmation of self determination. He suggested that articles on the question be prepared for "Party Voice."

[] agreed with the DAVIS Report. He wants the Negro Commission to have Negro workers in its membership and criticized the fact that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not given a chance to work in the construction trades in New York City.

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WILLIAM WEINSTONE is for the DAVIS Report. He admits the errors of the Party on Negro affairs and says that the white comrades have a lack of interest in Negro affairs. He claimed that the struggle for leadership and the life of the Party caused a delay in the discussion on

the Negro question. He said that the Party spent a whole year in the fight against revisionism and opportunism.

[] stated that the DAVIS Report lacked any word of the fight against white chauvinism. This is needed. The Report does not fit the bill because it is lacking in many points. She wants better mass work and theory and will not choose between the two. The CP will harm ROBESON's book if it gets "stained by the Party." Revisionism is the cause of the loss of the Negro cadre.

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[] yielded her time so [] could complete her comments.

BILL PATTERSON is for the Report and thinks it would be wrong to fight for self determination. This would be divisive.

JESSIE GREY thinks the Report is acceptable and that the Conference was long overdue. We must move the whole Negro population behind the movement for liberation. He has secured three new members.

[] claimed that the majority of the New York State Board voted against the DAVIS Report. He is against it and supported the [] stand. He claimed leadership is the cause of factionalism and blasted JACKSON and DENNIS. He called for another National Convention to start action on the Party situation.

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[] claimed that []' remarks about the State Board were not correct. The PAUL ROBESON book is great and the DAVIS Report is good but does not go far enough.

[] is for the Report and pled for the organization of the South.

[] agreed with the DAVIS Report.

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ABE agreed with the Report and laments the absence of Negroes in the metal trades.

[] opposed the Report and discussed the Puerto Rican question, claiming that it is being neglected by the Party. He charged that the CP, USA killed the CP-Puerto Rico. He stated there are only 29 Puerto Ricans in the CP.

[] agreed with the Report.

[] announced a meeting in Brooklyn, for May 2, 1958. [] then distributed a one page printed announcement indicating that this meeting is a meeting of the Labor Committee of the Brooklyn Branch of the NAACP.)

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[] criticized the educational system in New York City. The CP must fight to guarantee the Negro and Puerto Rican youth, education to qualify them for skilled jobs. The Party must organize the unemployed and move on the Brown-Isaacs-Sharkey Bill. He questioned where the Negro comrades are and stated that this Conference should have been attended by many more Negroes.

[] stated that the Negro question has been downgraded and the DAVIS Report is a guide to the road back.

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[] stated that he was glad to see some action by leadership and this was the first conference of its kind since the National Convention. He advised the comrades to join the NAACP and work for the Party program.

[] claimed that the Party must fight against white chauvinism in the Party and in the unions. During his comments he identified MIKE DAVIDOW as the "head of industrial." He said that we must fight for better education and better jobs for the Negro.

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[] is for the DAVIS Report. We should discuss ways to put this report into action instead of merely debating it. We must draw up a program from this Report and get to work. We must organize the workers in the South to halt the runaway shops from the North.

HALOIS MOOREHEAD doesn't like the way the DAVIS Report dismissed the [] article. She feels [] was wrong in indicting the entire leadership.

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[] is for the Report, urged an end to the factions in the Party and pleaded for the necessity of uniting the Party.

[] is for the main line of the Report.

A group of individuals apparently from the Industrial Division only because they were observed sitting with [] and [] and because their discussion among

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AL 100-11067

themselves seemed to be that of the "ultra left," were quite critical of ROBESON for not recognizing them so that they could speak.

[] defended the ultra left in her comments, stating that the Party needed them and they needed the Party and they should not be judged too harshly. She does not go along with this faction but she agrees with some of the points they are raising. This was [] only conciliatory comment. She was extremely critical of the leadership of the Party, the lack of activity in the youth movement and on the women's question and she attacked JIMMIE JACKSON for devoting so much time to the ROBESON book when we were supposed to be discussing the Negro question.

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The general feeling by the speakers from the floor was that the Party must develop a program of its own on the Negro question, as good as the PAUL ROBESON book admittedly is it is not the Party program and shouldn't be viewed as such. BEN DAVIS then took the floor at the conclusion of the meeting and stated that he did not mean to give the impression that ROBESON's book was the Party program. He again advocated discussing methods of selling the book at Party meetings.

DAVIS then moved that the main line of his Report be adopted as the sentiment of this Conference and that all of the material coming out of this Conference be provided to the New York State Negro Commission after it is set up.

AL 100-11067

The informant^{to} furnished the following descriptive data for certain UNSUBs mentioned in his report. He advised that UNSUB [] from West Harlem (page 3) is a Negro male who speaks with a slight accent apparently West Indian. He is of medium height and build, dark complexion, and is in his late 40's or early 50's.

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The first [] mentioned on page three is, according to photographs displayed, []

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The second [] mentioned on page three is a white man whom informant has never met before and who was identified by name by MIKE DAVIDOW who followed UNSUB [] from floor. Informant has no recollection of the description of this unknown subject.

The second Unsub [] mentioned on page three is a white male whom the informant has met before and is an old man with gray hair, 5'6" heavy build, 175-180 lbs., wears glasses and at a State Committee meeting which this [] attended in the past he identified himself as a chartered member of the CP.

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The UNSUB [] mentioned on page 4 is the third [] who attended this Negro conference. He is a white male and the informant can furnish no additional descriptive data.

The UNSUB [] mentioned on page 4 is a male with a dark complexion, speaks with what may be a West Indian accent, is 5'9" slender and in his 50's.

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The [] mentioned on page five is a white woman, in her early 30's, heavy build, 5'5" tall with sandy hair.

The [] mentioned on page five is a white male, and informant can furnish nothing additional.

The UNSUB [] mentioned on page six is an additional [] and the informant has no recollection as to his appearance.

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The [] mentioned on page six will be identified by Albany in a later communication.

AL 100-11067

The informant further advised that, in addition to the above individuals whom he identified as speakers, the following people were observed in attendance:

[redacted]; a third [redacted] described as a male, Negro 5'7" late 30's, slender build, wears mustache, perhaps from Harlem; a [redacted] whom the informant recalls from previous Negro Commission meetings and whom Albany will identify in later communication; [redacted]; EUGENE DENNIS and [redacted]

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LEADS:

NEW YORK OFFICE

New York will attempt to identify the Unknown Subjects mentioned in the informant's report and furnish photographs of suspects to Albany for display to [redacted].

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